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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE

OF

REGINALD POLE.

VOL. II.

BY THOMAS PHILLIPS.

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[illegible]

OXFORD, PRINTED [illegible]

AND

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REGINALD POLE.

VOL. II.

By THOMAS PHILLIPS.

Nam quis nescit, primam esse Historiæ legem, Ne quid falsi dicere audeat? deinde, ne quid veri non audeat? . . . vult etiam, quoniam in rebus magnis memoriâque dignis, consilia primùm, deinde acta, postea eventus expectantur, et de Consiliis significari quid Scriptor probet, et in rebus gestis significari non solùm quid actum, aut dictum sit, sed etiam quomodo: et cùm de eventu dicatur, ut causæ explicentur omnes. hominumque ipsorum non solùm res gestæ, sed etiam, qui famâ ac nomine excellant, de cujusque vitâ atque naturâ.

CICERO, de Oratore, lib. ii. § 14.

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CONTENTS.

VOL. II.

SECT. VI. *Continued.*

PIUS IV. cauſes a third opening of the General Council, at *Trent*, 18th of *January*, 1562; the ſolemn manner in which this is obſerved in the ſeventeenth Seſſion, p. 1. Who the Legates were who preſided, p. 3. A Decree concerning prohibited Books paſſed in the eighteenth Seſſion; and ſafe-conduct granted to all who diſſented from the Catholic Church, p. 4. The Council adjourned in the nineteenth and twentieth Seſſions, *ibid.* The French Ambaſſadors arrive at *Trent*; their demands and behaviour, p. 6. Twenty-firſt Seſſion: Decree concerning receiving the Euchariſt,—Uſe of the Cup,—Articles of Diſcipline, chiefly with reſpect to the diſintereſtedneſs becoming Clergymen, p. 7. Twenty-ſecond Seſſion: Decree concerning the Maſs, p. 9. Repreſentation of a ſolemn or high Maſs, p. 11, *et ſeq.* Decency and regularity of the Clergy inforced by another Decree of the ſame Seſſion, p. 13. Great difficulties which the queſtion on the nature of Epiſcopal Juriſdiction meets with, *ibid.* The Cardinal of *Lorrain*, at the head of the French Prelates, arrives at *Trent*, —Repreſents to the Fathers the ſtate of Religion in *France*,— Inſtructions he brought with him, p. 14. Year.

Year. p. 14, *et seq.* Twenty-third Seſſion: Expoſition of the Catholic Doctrine of holy Orders,—Long and accurate Decree which concerns the different Ranks of the Clergy, p. 17, *et ſeq.* Rumour ſpread of the Council's intention to withdraw the Clergy from the ſecular power,—The fine Addreſs of the Fathers to Sovereigns, p. 20, *et ſeq.* Twenty-fourth Seſſion expounds the Sacrament of Marriage,—Divers regulations relative to the Marriage Contract, p. 22. An excellent Decree, which chiefly regards Cardinals, Biſhops, and other dignified Clergymen, paſſed in the ſame Seſſions, p. 23. Twenty-fifth and laſt Seſſion, held on the 3d of *December*, 1563: Sets forth the doctrine of Purgatory,—Invocation of Saints,—Veneration of their Relicks and Images, p. 25, *et ſeq.* Decrees on the reformation of Monaſteries, p. 28. For regulating the furniture, table, &c. of Prelates,—On the caution to be uſed in Excommunication, p. 30. Continuation of the ſame Seſſion: The doctrine of Indulgences expounded,—On the Faſts and Feſtivals,—a Parochial Catechiſm appointed to be compiled, *ibid.* The acceptation of the Council ordered by the laſt decree of the Seſſion, p. 32. What number of Prelates ſubſcribed to it, *ibid.* From what time the decrees were to take place, p. 33. By what Kingdoms the Council has been received, *ibid.* The Reſemblance of the Council of *Trent*, with that held by the Apoſtles at *Jeruſalem*, p. 35. General Character of the Prelates who compoſed it, p. 36. The method obſerved in forming the Decrees both of Faith and Diſcipline,—Agreement of the Doctrine with that of all Antiquity,—Clearneſs and preciſion of the Deciſions, and accuracy with which each Article was debated, *ibid. et ſeq.* Groundleſs objection of *Fra-Paolo*, p. 39. Degree of perſpicuity which is attainable in divine Truths, *ibid.*

Style

Style in which the Decrees of the Council are drawn up, p. 40. Intrigues, and other weaknesses, with which some of the Deliberations were attended, p. 42. Salutary Effects of this great Assembly throughout the whole Christian World, *ibid.* to the end of the Section. Year.

SECT. VII.

Henry VIII. dies, p. 45. Substance of his Speech to the Parliament, towards the end of his reign, *ibid.* A short review of his Character, p. 47. Last Act of Cruelty, p. 48. Remarkable argument of his want of good faith related by the CARDINAL, p. 49. Manner of his Death, p. 50. The CARDINAL endeavours to avail himself of it, to the advantage of his Country, p. 51. Writes to the Pope, p. 52. Writes to the English Privy Council, p. 53. Tries to engage the Emperor in the same interest, p. 55. Addresses an Apology to *Edward* VI. brief account of that Performance, p. 56. *Edward*'s dispositions and education, p. 58. Changes in the ancient worship that take place immediately on his accession; exemplified particularly in what concerns the holy Eucharist, p. 59. Plunder of the Churches, p. 60. *Somerset-House* raised on complicated rapine and sacrilege, *ibid.* Further innovations in Religion, p. 61. Various Sects rise up; foreign Sectaries called over, p. 62. Universal Consent of Historians, as to these facts, *ibid.* Revolutions in the State, no less than in the Church, p. 63. Insurrections, *ibid.* The demands of the Insurgents, p. 64. Duke of *Somerset*'s ambition, abuse of power, and fall, p. 66. CARDINAL POLE's employment during these confusions, p. 67. Death of *Paul* III.—Description of a Conclave, *ibid.* The major part of the

28th *Jan.* 1547.

10th *Nov.* 1549.

Year. Cardinals agree to chuſe CARDINAL POLE, Pope, p. 69. In what manner he receives the overture, *ibid.* Exempt from Ambition, p. 70. Writes, during the Conclave, on the duties of the Papacy, *ibid.* The different impreſſion his behaviour makes on two Cardinals, p. 71. His anſwer to another, who reproached him with aſpiring to the Papacy, p. 72. Calumnies ſpread concerning him, *ibid.* Unanimity of the Electors who engaged their votes in his favour, p. 74. His anſwer to Cardinal *Farneſe*, on his deſiring him to conſent to his election, and to receive the homage, p. 75. A ſecond Deputation to him, with the ſame Meſſage, p. 76. Change of affairs in the

8th *Feb.* 1550. Conclave, *ibid.* Cardinal *de Monti* choſen Pope; his Speech to the Engliſh CARDINAL, p. 77. The behaviour of the latter, when the Conclave broke up, *ibid.* Occaſion, on which he wrote *on the Duties of the Papacy*, 78. Returns to the Government of *Viterbo*, which, after three years,

1553. he reſigns, and retires from public Life, *ibid.*

SECT. VIII.

CARDINAL POLE, on *Edward* VIth's death, is appointed by the Pope, LEGATE to the Princeſs

6th *Aug.* 1553. *Mary*, p. 80. The purport of his Credentials,

26th *Sept.* p. 82. and of his Letter to the Queen concerning this Commiſſion, p. 83. The Queen's anſwer,

6th *Oct.* p. 86. the French Ambaſſador informs his Court of theſe meaſures, p. 89. Character of the Prin-

24th *Nov.* ceſs *Mary*, at this period of her life, p. 90. She defeats the treaſonable deſigns of the Duke of *Northumberland*, p. 92. Declaration of that Nobleman at his execution, p. 96. By what Acts the Queen began her Reign, p. 97. She ſends the LEGATE a detail of her affairs, and aſks his advice, p. 99. What conduct he judges moſt ſa-

1ſt *Dec.* lutary, p. 103. He ſets out on his journey to *England*;

England; and diſpatches from *Trent* a Courier Year.
to the Emperor and French King, and informs them of the peace he was to negotiate, on the part of the Pope, between the two Courts, p. 111. Is ſtopped at *Dilingen* by order of *Charles* V. The reaſon of this ſtay, p. 112. The Queen's marriage with that Monarch's ſon agreed on, p. 114. *Jan.*1554.
Advances towards a return to the ancient Worſhip made by the Engliſh Legiſlature, p. 115. *Wyat*'s rebellion; the Queen's maſterly Speech, *Feb.*
by which ſhe exhorts the Citizens of *London* to oppoſe it, 116. Suppreſſion of the Rebellion: And manner of Lady *Jane Gray*'s death, p. 118. The Emperor conſents to the LEGATE's coming to him at *Bruſſels*, p. 121. The Queen conſults him concerning the vacant Biſhopricks: The reaſon for depriving ſeveral Biſhops of their ſees, and the characters of theſe Prelates, *ibid.* Contrivance of a Pretender to the See of *York*, to thruſt himſelf into that Archbiſhoprick, detected by the LEGATE and defeated, p. 124. The Emperor refuſes to let him proceed on his journey till after the Queen's marriage with his Son: He ſets out for *Paris*, on the treaty of peace between *Charles* V. and *Francis* I. draws up, on the road, a plan of it, of which an abſtract is given, p. 125, *et ſeq.* The eſteem he is held in by the French King, p. 132. On his return to *Bruſſels*, the Emperor ſtill puts off his departure for *England*: His letter to the Court of *Rome* on a report that his diſappointments made him deſirous to be recalled; and his ſentiments of the Queen's marriage with the Prince of *Spain*, *ibid.* Abſtract 25th *May*.
of another letter which throws a light on his conduct in this whole negotiation, and on his character in general, p. 137. The Emperor, to juſtify the delays of the LEGATE's journey, will have his Legantine Powers examined by the Engliſh Miniſtry: Abſtract of theſe Powers: Teſtimony

Year. timony given of the LEGATE in one of the Patents, in which they are contained, p. 141. The Queen's marriage with *Philip*: Qualities which formed the character of this Prince, p. 147. The LEGATE congratulates him and the Emperor on this alliance: His Legantine Powers are enlarged, p. 150. Urges the Emperor to consent to his departure for *England*, p. 153. *Philip* sends over the Count of *Horne* to notify to him his marriage, p. 166. He informs the Pope of the objections made by the Emperor, to his proceeding on his journey, p. 157. The like hindrances put to it in *England*, and the LEGATE's remonstrance to *Philip* concerning them, p. 159. *Philip* sends the Emperor's Ambassador at his Court, to inform the LEGATE of the state of the Nation; his reply, p. 161. The English Ambassador at the Emperor's Court writes to the Queen the cogent reasons for the LEGATE's journey taking place, *ibid.* His attainder is reversed, and the Lords *Paget* and *Hastings* with a train of Gentlemen sent to invite him to his Country, p. 162.

11th *July.* | 21st *Sept.* | 27th *Oct.* | 17th *Nov.*

SECT. IX.

CARDINAL POLE met at *Gravesend* by the Bishop of *Durham* and earl of *Shrewsbury*, p. 166. Appears in the Character of LEGATE: His reception by the King and Queen, p. 167. His Speech in Parliament, which is answered by the High Chancellor *Gardiner*, p. 169. The manner in which he reconciles the Nation to the Catholic Church, p. 170. Some reflexions on this great Event, p. 172. At the request of the Magistrate, he enters the City of *London*, in quality of LEGATE: *Gardiner*'s Speech on this occasion, p. 176. The substance of an important and accurate Act of Parliament, by which the Nation's return

22d *Nov.* | 28th *Nov.* | 30th *Nov.*

return to the ancient Worſhip is confirmed by the Year.
whole Legiſlature; and the Abbey Lands ſettled
on the Lay Poſſeſſors, p. 177, *et ſeq.* A ground-
leſs objection to this ſettlement made by *Fra-
Paolo* and Biſhop *Burnet*, p. 185, *et ſeq.* The
LEGATE ſends the Pope an account of this Revo-
lution, p. 188. *Philip* writes to him on the
ſame ſubject: Letters which paſs between *Fran-
cis* I. and the LEGATE, on the ſame, p. 189. 30th *Dec.*
He informs the Pope of different concerns, p. 191. 10th *Mar.*
On the death of *Julius* and *Marcellus*, the Queen 1555.
and French King are deſirous to advance him to
the Papacy; which meaſure is prevented by the
ſudden election of *Paul* IV. p. 193. In what 23d *May.*
manner the Engliſh Ambaſſadors, who are ſent
to *Rome* on the part of the Sovereign and Nation,
are received, p. 196. The Pope erects *Ireland* into 5th *June.*
a Kingdom, p. 198. The LEGATE goes to *Flan-
ders*, as Mediator of peace between *France* and 8th *June.*
the Emperor: Succeſs of this negotiation, and
his return to *England*, p. 199, *et ſeq.* He writes to 8th *July.*
the Governor of *Philip*'s ſon, on the Education of
Princes, p. 205. *Philip* ſets out for *Bruſſels* to
take poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh dominions, p. 206.
Appoints the LEGATE chief of the Engliſh Coun-
cil, p. 207. The LEGATE with *Gardiner* re- 16th *Sept.*
forms the ſtudies of the Univerſity of *Oxford*,
p. 208. Death of *Gardiner*, and ſentiments of the
LEGATE on this incident: Character of *Gardiner*,
p. 210. The LEGATE calls a National Synod, 11th *Nov.*
which, under twelve Heads, ſets forth the ſtate of
the Nation with reſpect to Doctrine and Morals:
the chief diſorders, which the errors and licen-
tiouſneſs of the two late Reigns had given occa-
ſion to: and the remedies which he judged moſt
ſuited to the amendment of them, p. 214. The
acknowledged excellence and fitneſs of theſe De-
crees, p. 237. And the depraved condition of
the People inferred from an obſervation made by
the

Year. the LEGATE at the conclusion of the Synod, p. 239.

SECT. X.

For what misdeeds Archbishop *Cranmer* was attainted of high treason and condemned to death, p. 241. The LEGATE endeavours to bring him to a sense of his guilt, p. 243. He is condemned for Heresy, and the sentence revised and confirm-
19th *Jan.* ed at *Rome*, p. 245. He abjures his past er-
1555-6. rors, in hopes of life, and then revokes his abjura-
14th *Feb.* tion, and is put to death, p. 247. Instances of the
24th. like severity exercised by himself, for religious causes, in the former reigns, p. 249. Account of his education; his inconsistencies and prevarications in Religion under *Henry*, *Edward*, and *Mary*, p. 250. His claim to the Panegyrick bestowed on him by Dr. *Burnet*, examined, p. 255. Other Persons put to death for Heresy, p. 257. The statutes on which they suffered, p. 258. The treasonable practices which moved the Government to put these Laws in execution, p. 259. The LEGATE's moderation in these transactions attested by unexceptionable Vouchers, p. 260. And related by himself, p. 262. One Instance alledged as an Exception to this behaviour, p. 265. Who the Persons were who seem to have chiefly countenanced these cruelties, p. 264. Some Observations on the tenets and practice of the Church of *Rome* relative to the penalties inflicted on Hereticks, p. 265. The LEGATE, on *Cranmer*'s execution, nominated to the See of *Canterbury*, p. 267. Ordained Priest and Bishop, p. 269. By what works of Christian piety he signalizes the beginning of his Pri-
1st April, macy, *ibid.* He is chosen Chancellor of the Univer-
1556. sities of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*: His memorable letter to the Latter, p. 270. Revises the statutes

tutes; flouriſhing ſtate of this learned and illuſtri- Year.
ous Body in his time, p. 272. His correſpondence with *Ignatius* of *Loyola*, p. 273, *et ſeq.*

SECT. XI.

WAR between *Paul* IV. and *Philip*, p. 278. *Nov.* 1556.
Origin of this Pope's malevolence to the Engliſh LEGATE, p. 280. He writes to *Julius*, p. 282. War declared between *France* and *England*, p. 284. *Julius* recalls the LEGATE and appoints
William Peyto in his ſtead, p. 285. The Queen 25th *Jan.*
oppoſes theſe meaſures: Letters which paſs be- 1556-7.
tween the Pope and Her, p. 287. CARDINAL 14th *June.*
POLE lays down his character of Legate; his Letter to the Pope; diſſimulation of the latter, p. 290. His enmity to the LEGATE's friend, *Priuli*, p. 293. The LEGATE's fine Remonſtrance to the Pope, on theſe unbecoming proceedings, p. 293, *et ſeq.* The character of *Paul*
IV. in the Note of p. 299, *et ſeq.* The LE- 30th *Mar.*
GATE's letter to the Cardinal of *Trani* on the ſame 1558.
ſubject on which he had wrote to the Pope, p. 382, *et ſeq.* Some Reflexions on the CARDINAL's behaviour during this ill treatment from the Pope, of which there is no farther mention, p. 207.
Death of *Charles* V. character of that Prince, 23d *Sept.*
p. 309. Motive to which *Thuanus* aſcribes his abdication, *ibid.* *Fenelon*'s remark on the
ſame, p. 311. Death of Queen *Mary*, *ibid.* 17th *Nov.*
The juſtice which Proteſtant Hiſtorians have done to this Princeſs, p. 312. CARDINAL POLE's laſt ſickneſs, p. 314. His will, *ibid.* Account of *Aloyſius Priuli*, his Executor, p. 315, *et ſeq.* Writes to the Queen a ſhort time before he dies, p. 316. Prepares himſelf to die, p. 317. With what ſentiments he hears the news of the Queen's death, *ibid.* The diſpoſition in which he receives the laſt Sacraments, and dies, p. 318.

His

Year. His obsequies, *ibid.* Letter of *Paul Sadolet*, Bishop of *Carpentras*, to the Lord *Priuli*, on the
18th *Nov.* CARDINAL's death, p. 319.

SECT. XII.

The Character of CARDINAL POLE. His outward figure, habit of body, manner of living, p. 321. Temper, conversation, remarkable sayings, p. 322. Aversion to flattery and falshood, circumspection in discourse, open and ingenuous Carriage, p. 324. Industry, learning, eloquence, style, p. 325. Method of studying the Scriptures, p. 327. The Works he left behind him, p. 328. Abilities for business and public life, p. 329. Exemption from vulgar passions, evenness of temper, p. 330. Facility in forgiving injuries exemplified in several instances, p. 331. Care of his Domestics; benevolence, generosity and disinterestedness, *ibid. et seq.* Freedom from ambition. Fortitude, and greatness of soul, p. 334. Gratitude, p. 335. Patriot spirit, and the proofs he gave of it, p. 336, *et seq.* Lenity towards those who dissented from the Church of *Rome*, p. 337, *et seq.* His love of solitude, and of what kind his retreats were, p. 338. Accuracy in all the rites of the Church, reverence with which he performed the Liturgy, p. 339. The most common incidents furnish him with an opportunity of inculcating virtue, p. 340. His sentiments of the duties of Episcopacy, and the manner in which he discharged them, *ibid.* The esteem he was held in by his Cotemporaries exemplified in several instances, p. 345.

Earl of
ad, the
ried by

eldest Daughter and Coheiress of *Richard Nevil*, Ear
stmorland, buried at *Tewkesbury*.

eorge Duke of *Clarence*, Sister and Heiress to *Ed-*
n, 27th of *May*, 1541. (33 *Hen.* VIII.)

REGINALD POLE, fourth Son, made Cardinal on the 22d of *May*, 1536, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, 22d of *May*, 1555, (1. and 2. *Philip* and *Mary*) died 17th *Nov.* 1558, and was buried in that Cathedral.

URSULA, only Daughter, married *Henry* Ld. *Stafford*, Son and Heir to *Edmund Stafford*, the late Duke of *Buckingham*, of that Family, beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, 13th *Henry* VIII. whose large Revenues were his chiefest Crimes. The said *Henry*, after his Father's Death, was by the said King, restored to the Barony of *Stafford* aforesaid.

1. RY POLE,
2. y Son and
3. ir.
4.

MARY, elder Daughter, and Coheiress to her Brother, married unto Sir *John Stanley*, Knight.

MARGARET, 2d Daughter and Coheiress to her Brother, Wife to Sir *Thomas Fitzherbert*, Knt.

A h Daughter.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF REGINALD POLE.

SECT. VI. *Continued.*

IT was now almoſt two years ſince the election of *Pius* IV. and every thing ſeemed to concur to let him ſee the neceſſity of executing the reſolution he had ſignified at the beginning of his Pontificate, of aſſembling the General Council. But though he publiſhed a Decree, by which it was ſummoned for Eaſter week of this year, and named the Legates who were to preſide at it, ſtill freſh difficulties cauſed him to defer it till the following. *Ferdinand*, who had ſucceeded his Brother *Charles* in the empire; with a view of being on good terms with the Lutherans, ſought to put off an aſſembly, whoſe bare name raiſed their ſpleen; and *Philip* of *Spain* would have had a formal declaration, that the Council to be convened was not a new Aſſembly, but only a continuation of the former. The Fathers, indeed, every where proceed on a ſuppoſition that the Council had never been, properly ſpeaking, diſſolved, but only prorogued, and that the long interruptions had ſuſpended but not broke it up. During this ſuſpenſe the Pope made three Decrees; by the firſt he declared, if the holy See

ſhould be vacated, whilſt the Council was ſitting, the choice of the Pope ſhould devolve not to the Council, but to the ſacred College; which precaution had been taken by *Paul* III. By the ſecond, the Pope could not appoint himſelf a ſucceſſor, though all the Cardinals ſhould give their conſent; and by the third, thoſe Biſhops only who were preſent at the Council, had a right of voting; which was the cauſe that none of the Poliſh Prelates aſſiſted at it; and two, who were come to *Trent*, returned home as ſoon as they perceived they were not allowed as many votes, as they had brought proxies from their brethren; which they had flattered themſelves would be granted.

THE objections to the concluſion of this great affair being, at length, ſurmounted, or, at leaſt, ſet aſide, the Council was opened, for the third time, on the 18th of *January*, 1562, after an interruption of ten years, and happily concluded before the end of the following. This Seſſion was held in the Cathedral, into which the Legates made their entry with a majeſty becoming the ſolemnity of the occaſion. The great ſilver Croſs, which was bore before them, was placed in the middle of the Council. The Legates were ſeated at the upper end, higher than the reſt; and, next to them, the other Cardinals. Over againſt them, and at ſome diſtance, were the ſeats of the Patriarchs; and below them, thoſe of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, who were 260 in number. Below theſe were the Abbots and Superior Generals of Religious Orders. The Ambaſſadors were on ſeats leſs raiſed, in the length of the Church; the Eccleſiaſtics, on the right; the Lay, on the left. There was, beſides, a great number of Doctors, and of the moſt learned perſonages in the Chriſtian world.—Though the Spaniſh Biſhops inſiſted much on a formal declaration, that the

the present Council was no more than a prorogation of that already held, this clause was omitted, not to give offence to the Lutherans, who pretended the former decrees should be revised, and had alledged that pretext, among others, for not assisting at it. The Declaration made by the Fathers in the 17th Session, by which the Council was opened, is, "that all suspension having ceased, the General Council was to be held from that day." Some of the Bishops of the same nation took exception at the Legates being said, "to preside and propose what was to be debated," as if the expression imported an absolute authority; but it passed by a Majority, and nothing more was declared to be meant by it, than had been practised in other General Councils.

THE Legates were *Hosius*, a native of *Cracovia*, and Bishop of *Wormia*, in *Poland*; *Hercules Gonzaga*, *Simoneta*, and *Hierom Seripando*, all Cardinals: and it must be acknowledged that the Majesty of the first Bishop of the Christian Church was never represented by a happier choice of Delegates, nor the interests of that Church better understood, or supported with greater ability. I have entered, elsewhere, into so great a detail of the merit of the first, and of his connections with CARDINAL POLE, as to make it needless to add any thing here*. *Hercules Gonzaga*, the second, was brother to *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Mantua*, and during his Nephew's minority had governed his States with great prudence and lenity, and was remarkable for his tenderness to the Poor †. *Simoneta*, besides a great insight into the politer arts, was universally esteemed the ablest Lawyer of his age §; and

* See page 154, et seq.

† Vide *Sadoleti* epist. pag. 30, 65, 567.

§ Inter Jureconsultos nostræ ætatis omnium judicio consultissimus. *Sad.* ep. l. 14. p. 548.

Polus, amplissimus vir, certè incredibili quadam virtute animi

and not leſs remarkable for his regard of the Engliſh CARDINAL and his connections with him, than his Collegue *Hoſius*; and to a like intimacy with the Cardinal of *Mantua* we owe a very elegant letter already cited, to that Prince *. *Seripando*, the fourth Legate, was one of the moſt learned and deſerving perſonages of the 16th Century, and though I ſhall have occaſion, at the end of this work, to mention the account he made of him, who is the ſubject of it, I cannot here omit the following circumſtances of the laſt Act of his life, as they ſerve to characterize ſo great a Man. On the day of his death, which happened at *Trent*, whilſt the Council was yet ſitting, he cauſed himſelf to be taken out of bed, and, before he receiv- the holy Sacrament, made, on his knees, a profeſſion of faith; and, afterwards, diſcourſed in Latin on the tenets of the Church of *Rome*, on the duties of a Chriſtian, on the reſurrection of the Dead; and on what was to be done that the Council might have a happy concluſion.

A hundred and twelve Biſhops, beſides others who had a right to be preſent, aſſiſted at the Seſſion by which the Council was opened, and the above-mentioned Preliminaries being regulated, the Fathers began by appointing a Committee of eighteen Prelates to compile a catalogue or Index of prohibited books: but, not to alienate thoſe who were the Authors or Abetters of ſuch Works, they were cautioned to ſuppreſs it till the end of the Seſſions.—The Pope's order, which appointed the rank the Prelates were to obſerve in the Council, according to their ordination, was read on the 26th of *February*, when the eighteenth Seſſion was held. No precedence was given to the Primates, becauſe the high dignity which the Fathers en- joyed

mi et ſanctitate vitæ præſtans, totus tibi deditus eſt. *Sadoleti* Epiſt. ad *Jacobum Simonetam*, pag. 551.

* In the 5th Section.

joyed in common, as Aſſeſſors in that auguſt Aſſembly, placed them on a level, and cauſed all other diſtinctions, on that occaſion, to ceaſe. A decree alſo paſſed concerning the choice of Books; the number and variety of thoſe of an evil tendency obliging the fathers, as they declare, to look on this precaution as a very material point of their charge. —The ſafe-conduct, which was to be granted to all who diſſented from the Catholic Religion, was mentioned with all poſſible ſignification of good will and concern for their re-union to the Church, whoſe welfare was intereſted in it; and on the eighth of *March*, the Paſſport was publiſhed in the ſame form, as that granted to the Germans, ten years before; but extended to all other Nations, though without naming any, that none might be taxed with hereſy.—Several Committees were then held concerning Diſcipline, in one of which Don *Bartholomew de Martyribus*, the celebrated Archbiſhop of *Braga*, propoſed a plan for the reformation of the Cardinals, which the Council did not judge proper to adopt.—The queſtion of the reſidence of Biſhops, though diſcuſſed a long time, was not decided; and the Pope took ſuch offence at its being brought, a ſecond time, before the Council, that he ſent a perſon of confidence, and his Kinſman, to obſerve the conduct of the Cardinals of *Mantua* and *Seripando*, to whom he imputed this proceeding, and give him an account of it. This was *Charles Viſconti*, Biſhop of *Vintimille*, whoſe letters are come down to us, and have given a high Idea of the Writer's capacity and ſkill in public affairs.—In the next Seſſion, which was the nineteenth, and was held on the fourteenth of *May*, nothing more was done than to adjourn to the following meeting.

This ſlow progreſs in matters of ſuch high concern was owing to a condeſcenſion to the Emperor,

whoſe Ambaſſadors did all they could to cauſe theſe delays; as the Spaniſh Prelates ſtill inſiſted on the declaration they had moved for at the firſt meeting, and which *Ferdinand* thought contrary to his intereſts; and no Biſhops were arrived from *Germany* to counterbalance their authority.—The French, likewiſe, had ſeveral matters to lay before this ſupreme Court of Judicature, and were therefore deſirous that nothing which could interfere with what they had to propoſe, ſhould be determined without their participation. Soon after, their Ambaſſadors arrived at *Trent*, and were received with that diſtinction which *Lanſac*, one of them, deſcribes to *de Liſle*, Ambaſſador from the ſame Court to that of *Rome*. In this letter he entreats him to uſe his beſt endeavours with the Pope, that the Council might be at full liberty to propoſe, deliberate, and vote, without having recourſe to his Holineſs: that ſo there might be no occaſion to ſay of the Legates, who preſided, that "the Holy Ghoſt was ſent to them in a Cloak-bag:" an expreſſion, in which there is great indecency, and very little wit; if, indeed, it can be ſaid to have any. *Pallavicini* relates this profane buffoonery of one of *Ferdinand*'s Ambaſſadors, in a letter to that Prince's Son, *Maximilian* II.—The other Ambaſſadors, from *France* were *du Ferrier*, Preſident of the parliament of *Paris*, and *Pibrac* of that of *Toulouſe*. The latter of theſe was choſen to harangue the Council, when he and his Collegues had their public audience in a general Aſſembly held for that purpoſe on the 26th of *May*; and he ſpoke in ſuch a manner as to give great offence to moſt who were preſent, particularly to the Spaniſh Biſhops; and to meet with the approbation of very few. The Fathers were ſhocked at a diſcourſe, in which the General Council under *Paul*, and *Julius* III. was reproached with breaking up, "without having done any good;" or, according to other editions of this ſpeech, "any ſig-

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nal ſervice to the Church." The French Writers excuſe the inſolence of this expreſſion, by the Speaker's deſign to turn the Fathers from a declaration, to which they ſeemed ſtrongly inclined, that the Council then ſitting was only a continuation of the two former; which the Ambaſſadors apprehended would keep the Calviniſts, to whoſe party one of them, *du Ferrier*, ſoon after went over, and who the French had now more reaſon than ever to fear, at a greater diſtance from the Catholic Church. The inſtructions they brought from their Court contained ſeveral important Articles; and, among others, they were to inſiſt on the obſervance of the ſixth Canon of the Council of *Calcedon*, which commands Biſhops to admit none to holy orders, but ſuch as are deſigned for a determinate exerciſe of their functions, and thus leſſen the number of uſeleſs Miniſters.

THOUGH the twentieth Seſſion was held on the fourth of *June*, yet the Fathers deferred the publication of any further decrees: and the Emperor's Ambaſſadors having preſented to the Legates a Memorial of Grievances, which their Maſter deſired might be redreſſed, they refuſed to lay it before the Council, and repreſented to that Prince their objections in ſo ſtrong a light, that he yielded to their reaſons, and left every thing to their diſcretion.—The Pope, at the ſame time, ſeemed reſolved to declare the preſent ſitting of the Council to be only a continuation of the former; and to decide, by his own authority, the queſtion concerning Reſidence: however, he changed his mind as to both theſe Articles, and reſtored the Legates to favour, who diſſented from him with reſpect to the latter.

NOTHING very material had yet been tranſacted, though the Council had ſate above half a year: but on the 16th of *July*, the following important decrees paſſed in the twenty-firſt Seſſion. Thoſe

which concern Faith, take up ſix chapters, in which the obligation of receiving the Euchariſt in both kinds is declared not to extend to the Laity: that, in the diſpenſation of the Sacraments, the Church has a power to eſtabliſh ſuch rites as do not affect their nature and ſubſtance; and that the Euchariſt is wholly received in either kind: that Infants are not obliged to ſacramental Communion; for which the following reaſon is given, "becauſe being cleanſed and regenerated by Baptiſm, and incorporated into the Body of JESUS CHRIST, they cannot forfeit, at that age, the grace they have already received, by which they are become the Children of God."—Theſe doctrinal Chapters are followed by as many Canons, which condemn opinions lately introduced, and repugnant to the tenets here eſtabliſhed. And, in the Concluſion, the Council reſerves to another time the examination of the uſe of the Cup, and under what limitations the Laity were to be allowed it. A deference to the Emperor's Ambaſſadors, who deſired this practice might be permitted in *Germany*, cauſed this clauſe to be inſerted.—The Decree concerning Reformation goes through nine Chapters, and, among other regulations, preſcribes diſintereſtedneſs to Biſhops, and taxes the fees of their Courts. The abuſes committed in the collection of Alms, on occaſion of indulgences, cauſed the Council to aboliſh the ſet of Men, who were employed in it. The mercenary behaviour of theſe Collectors had given our anceſtors occaſion to call them by the ſignificant and diſgraceful name of *Pardon-Mongers*. Indulgences and all ſpiritual favours were ordered for the future, to be publiſhed by the Ordinary, aſſiſted by two members of the Chapter, who are to collect the Alms.—The Fathers command none to be admitted to holy Orders, who are not provided with a benefice or an income ſufficient for a decent maintenance; and empower Biſhops to erect

erect new Pariſh Churches, and unite benefices, where neceſſity required it, but without prejudice to the actual Incumbent.

DURING this Seſſion, the Spaniſh Prelates perceiving that it was contrary to the general ſenſe of the Council to make a formal declaration that its preſent Sitting was no more than a Continuation of the two former, withdrew their motion; as likewiſe the queſtion concerning the obligation of Reſidence.—A general Aſſembly held a few days after the Seſſion, made ſeveral regulations, which related to the Council itſelf; by one of which the Divines, when they delivered their opinions, were limited to half an hour, which being elapſed, the Maſter of Ceremonies was to give them a ſign to leave off. But this Rule of the Court was ſo little obſerved, that, on the ſame day, *Salmeron*, the Pope's firſt Divine, ſuch was the importance of the ſubject and the weight of the Speaker, took up the whole time of the Sitting. — Several other General Aſſemblies were held, wherein the grant of the Cup through *Germany* cauſed a great variety of opinions. Of one hundred and ſixteen Prelates, who were preſent, thirty-eight were for refuſing it, twenty-nine for permitting, and twenty-four for remitting the deciſion to the Pope. Thirty-one agreed to the ſubſtance of the grant, provided the regulation of it was referred to him: ten were for entreating his Holineſs to ſend Deputies into *Germany*, to conſider the exigency of affairs on the ſpot: nineteen limitted the conceſſion to *Germany*, and *Hungary*; but, at length, a Majority of the whole Aſſembly referred the Deciſion to the Pope, without any reſtriction. *July 21ſt.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the inſtances made by the *Germans* and *French* to have the 22d Seſſion put off, it was held on the 17th of *September*. The emperor ſtill flattered himſelf he ſhould prevail on the Lutherans to come to the Council, in the Diet he

he was to hold at *Frankfort*; but found, when he came to the trial, the ſame diſappointment he had hitherto met with. And the *French* were deſirous that nothing ſhould be decided till the arrival of the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, who was expected at the head of the Prelates of that Nation.—The doctrinal decree of this Seſſion contains the belief of the Catholic Church concerning the Sacrifice of the Maſs, and is compriſed in nine Chapters. The firſt treats of its inſtitution by theſe words of JESUS CHRIST ſpoke at the laſt ſupper, and addreſſed to his Apoſtles, "do this in remembrance of me:" and the Council adds, that He conferred on them the Prieſthood of the new Covenant. Some of the Fathers had been of opinion that this was done after his Reſurrection, by theſe words, "receive ye the Holy Ghoſt," and the following. In the ſecond Chapter, the Maſs is declared a propitiatory Sacrifice for the living and the dead. The third and fourth treat of Maſſes which are ſaid in honour of the Saints; of the Canon and Ceremonies of the Maſs, and of private Maſſes, in which the Prieſt alone receives the communion; and the Council approves of them.—In the Committees held before this Seſſion, it had been propoſed to aboliſh a form of prayer, which contained the whole Service of the Maſs, except the Conſecration: but *Drakowitz*, an Hungarian Biſhop, oppoſed this motion, in favour of thoſe who are at Sea, who, by this repreſentation are not totally deprived of the real ſacrifice; which, on account of the conſtant rowling of the Veſſel, can ſeldom be offered on Shipboard. The ſeventh Chapter takes notice that Water is to be mixed with wine in the Chalice, and aſſigns ſeveral reaſons for this inſtitution: and the eighth orders each Church to continue its ancient practice as the language in which Maſs is performed. The ninth is an introduction to the Canons or rule of Faith concerning this

this Sacrifice, which are followed by injunctions as to the manner of offering it. Whatever has the appearance of avarice or supestition, some of which practices are enumerated, is prohibited; and unknown and vagabond Priests are not permitted to perform the sacred functions.

EVERY Article of these Chapters, as well those which define the Faith, as those which prescribe the practice of the Catholic Church with respect to the Mass, is announced with a dignity becoming this august Mystery, and in a manner the most suitable to inspire those with respect and devotion who are disposed to such impressions. And because several of my Readers may never have had an opportunity of seeing this act of Religion performed with solemnity, and may not be displeased to have a description of it, I shall here relate it as it was performed by one of the most illustrious Bishops that ever filled the Pontifical Throne; after premising, that as he only took up what his Predecessors had delivered down to him, so the Bishops of every age of Christianity have done nothing more than to perpetuate the same form of worship.

THE Prelates of the first ages, besides inward sanctity, in which the substance of Religion consists, made use of what had a pleasing effect on the senses, and left on the mind an awful and agreeable impression of the divine Being. Let the Reader represent to himself the Christians of *Rome* assembled on Easter Eve, in the *Lateran* Cathedral, and in the Pontificate of St. *Leo* the Great.—The Service began by the benediction of the Fire, which was then kindled; after which, an incredible number of Lights rendered that holy Night as luminous as the brightest day. The august Temple, which was incrusted with costly marble, and hung with curious paintings of the chief Actions of our Saviour's life, and the sufferings of the Martyrs, was

From the Year 440, to 461.

was filled with an innumerable concourſe of people, without tumult or confuſion, placed according to their age and ſex, and the rank they held in the Church. Thoſe, who were to receive Baptiſm in that very night; and thoſe, who, two days before, had been reconciled to the Church, were the moſt conſpicuous. The eye was ſtruck on every ſide with the luſtre of ſilver, and gold, and precious ſtones, with which every thing was ornamented, in proportion to the relation it bore to the holy rites. The ſilence of the night was interrupted only by leſſons from the Prophets, which were read in a clear and audible manner; and by the melody of Anthems which were intermixed with the leſſons, that by this variety each part of the ſervice might be more affecting. The mind ſeized with theſe great and beautiful objects, was better diſpoſed to conceive the divine inſtructions conveyed in the leſſons, eſpecially in perſons prepared, by the ſtudy of the ſources, from which they were taken. They recollected air of the Deacons, and other Miniſters, formed by ſuch a Prelate, and officiating under his obſervation, or, to ſpeak more properly, under that of Almighty God, whoſe preſence their piety rendered ſenſible, made all this pomp ſtill more religious. But nothing exalted the Scene ſo much as the Majeſty of the Pope himſelf, venerable for his learning and eloquence, his magnanimity, and other virtues. We may eaſily frame to ourſelves the reſpect and tender piety with which he repeated, on the ſacred Fonts, the prayers which himſelf had compoſed, and which have been held in ſuch eſteem by his Succeſſors, and the whole Weſtern Church, that they have uſed them thro' thirteen Centuries. All theſe holy and divine Rites preceded the Sacrifice of the Maſs, which, on this occaſion, was offered at day-break, the time when our Redeem-

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er roſe from the dead, and with a ſolemnity ſuited to the ſupreme Act of Religion. At this recital we ceaſe to wonder that Chriſtians, on theſe feſtivals, forgot all care of their body, and, having faſted the whole day, ſhould paſs the night, and a part of the following morning in watching and prayer, before they took any nouriſhment.

The Decree concerning Reformation, which paſſed in the Seſſion I am ſpeaking of, renews the ancient Canons concerning the decency and regularity of the Clergy; and authorizes Biſhops to ſet apart one third of the revenues of Cathedral and Collegiate Churches to be daily diſtributed to each Canon in proportion to his aſſiduity at the different parts of the ſervice; and orders that none below an Under-Deacon ſhall have a voice in Chapter. The Council alſo grants to Biſhops a power of deciding all diſputes which ariſe about Wills, and ſays, they are to execute pious donations, and viſit Hoſpitals, provided they are not immediately ſubject to Princes: it orders the Adminiſtrators of all pious foundations to be accountable to them, in caſe the founder has not otherwiſe appointed; and empowers them to examine Notaries Royal, and even to interdict them thoſe functions which regard ſpiritual matters.

The news of the ſpeedy arrival of the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the French Biſhops, prevailed on the Fathers to prorogue the next Seſſion, and even to ſuſpend the general Aſſemblies, in which the matter for the Seſſions was prepared and digeſted.—An Article, now to be decided, had brought on a Criſis, to which the Council, notwithſtanding all the difficulties it had hitherto ſtruggled with, had yet been a ſtranger; and the Fathers were to determine, whether the Juriſdiction, and other rights annexed to Epiſcopacy, were of divine inſtitution; or if the Prelacy held theſe privileges under the Head of their Order, the Biſhop of

Rome.

Rome. No point had ever been diſcuſſed with greater accuracy, or debated with greater warmth. The diſſention it produced was ſo violent, that, as *Pallavicini* relates, the moſt gloomy apprehenſions ſucceeded to the hopes of ſeeing the happy days of Chriſtianity return again, and her ancient diſcipline take place of the diſorders, to remedy which the Council had been convened.

It was believed the Cardinal of *Lorrain* would join the German and Spaniſh Prelates, in oppoſition to the Italians, who ſeemed diſpoſed to favour the Papal pretenſions, yet he was received "as an Angel of peace, whom God had ſent to repair the breaches which diſcord cannot fail to make in ſuch numerous meetings." All the Fathers went out to meet him, and, in a general Aſſembly on the 23d of *November*, when he had Audience, two hundred and eighteen Prelates, all the foreign Miniſters, and a promiſcuous number of perſons of note, whom curioſity had drawn thither, were preſent. The Cardinal was eſteemed one of the moſt eloquent perſons of his age; and his zeal for the Religion of his Anceſtors was equal to his abilities. He was ſon to the firſt Duke of *Guiſe*, and his high birth, the great preferments to which he was advanced, and the diſtinguiſhed rank he held in his Sovereign's favour, gave great weight to whatever he intereſted himſelf in.

Having read the letter which the French King wrote to the Council, and of which he was the bearer, he delivered himſelf in a ſpeech which has been preſerved, and wherein, among other topics, he ſets forth the deplorable ſtate to which *France* was reduced; "There is nothing to be ſeen, ſays he, but troubles, diviſions, rapine, bloodſhed, and ſacrilege, and whatever the impiety of Hereſy, armed with rage greater than that of civil war can produce. Fires are lighted up in every part of the Kingdom, into which the ornaments of the Church, the

Acta Con. *Trid. Lov.* 1567.

the works of the Fathers, taken out of ancient Libraries, the pictures of Saints, and their ſacred relicks are caſt, and the aſhes thrown into the next current. The Miniſters of the Alter are dragged from it to be maſſacred; and this ſacrilegious impiety attacks the Holy of Holies in endeavouring to aboliſh the ſacrifice of the new Law, that no footſteps may remain of the Religion of our Anceſtors." Coming, afterwards, to the ſource of theſe frightful diſorders, "the hand of an angry God, ſays he, is heavy on us, and puniſhes us according to our deſerts. We have drawn this vengeance on ourſelves by a corruption of manners, which has pervaded all conditions and orders in the Realm, and ſuffered the diſcipline of the Church to go to decay *." He then begs the Fathers to provide a remedy to theſe Evils, and aſſures them he is ready, with the Biſhops of *France*, to contribute all that was in his power.

THE Inſtructions he brought with him were, to demand a Reformation of the whole Church, but without obſtinately inſiſting on that of the Court of *Rome*, which the Pope was known to make his peculiar care. He was to aſk, that the uſe of the Cup might be allowed in *France*; and that the Sacraments might be adminiſtred to the Laity in the vulgar tongue: that public Prayers might be ſaid, and the Pſalms ſung, at certain hours, in the ſame: but without making any alteration in the Liturgy, which was to continue to be performed in Latin. Nothing was ſaid of the marriage of Prieſts; the King only inſinuated, that if they were to live in celibacy, it would be proper to defer their ordination to an age of greater maturity.—Beſides theſe demands of the French Court, which

* Hæc nobis juſtum Dei in irâ ſuâ judicium provocaverunt, corrupti omnium Ordinum mores, ac Eccleſiaſtica omnis collapſo Diſciplina.

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were made by the Cardinal; their Ambaſſadors *Pibrac* and *Du Ferrier* preſented, ſoon after, a memorial to the Legates, which contained the following Articles.—They aſked, in the name of the French nation, that no Prieſt ſhould be ordained, who did not poſſeſs a benefice: that Deacons, and thoſe in inferior Orders, ſhould exerciſe the functions which were anciently allotted to their rank: that Abbots, and Conventual Priors ſhould be obliged to found Hoſpitals, Schools, and Infirmaries, and practice hoſpitality, for which their Predeceſſors had been ſo remarkable: that plurality of benefices ſhould be utterly aboliſhed, without any diſtinction between thoſe which were compatible, or not ſo; which had been unknown to Antiquity: that reſignations, and all the colluſions of Simony, ſhould no longer take place; and ſome ſpiritual function be annexed to ſimple Benefices: that the ſpiritual Juriſdiction ſhould be reſtored, without any reſtriction, to the Epiſcopal Order: and public penitence, which had been obſerved in the primitive Church for heinous crimes, be again brought into practice: and, in concluſion, that Dioceſan Synods be held, at leaſt, every year; Provincial, within the ſpace of three years; and General, within ten.

THE Legates having heard theſe Remonſtances, communicated them to the Pope, who wrote to the French King, with great commendation of the zeal he teſtified for reforming Abuſes, which time had introduced; and reſtoring the ancient Diſcipline, which had ſuffered great changes, and been much relaxed: but, withall, he gave him to underſtand, that the preſent circumſtances required a moderation with reſpect to ſeveral of thoſe Articles; and he deſired his majeſty to conſent to it.—In this interval, the Juriſdiction and Rights of Epiſcopacy continued to be diſcuſſed; and the Fathers having appointed the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and

and *Madruccio* Biſhop of *Trent*, to draw up the Decree concerning Reſidence, the queſtion met with ſo many difficulties, as occaſioned the next Seſſion to be prorogued.

The French Cardinal, and ſome other Prelates took this opportunity to wait on the Emperor, who was come to hold a Diet at *Inſpruck*. He had convened an Aſſembly of Divines, and ſeemed diſſatisfied with the Council for not granting his demands, and for proceeding in the affair of the Reformation, with leſs warmth than he deſired. The Prelates who came to pay their reſpects to him, were preſent at the Conferences held on this occaſion; and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* had ſeveral long Audiences of his Majeſty, the ſubject of which has remained a Secret. Notwithſtanding theſe reaſons of complaint, *Ferdinand*, ſoon after, as an inſtance of his regard for the Council, decreed baniſhment to any one who ſhould be found in a quarrel or riot within the City of *Trent*, and, for greater diſpatch, propoſed to the Pope a meeting at the ſame place, which he did not judge adviſeable.

The death of *Hercules Gonzago*, Cardinal of *Mantua*, the chief Legate and Preſident of the Council, and of *Seripando*, another of the Legates, cauſed the general Aſſemblies to be ſuſpended, till the arrival of *Moran* and *Navigero* whom the Pope ſubſtituted in their place. This hindrance coming after the difficulties already mentioned, retarded conſiderably the progreſs of the Council; for though the twenty-ſecond Seſſion was held on the 17th of *September* of the laſt year, the twenty-third had been ſo often adjourned, that it did not meet till the fifth of *July* of this. The Doctrinal 1563. Decree which here paſſed, took in every thing eſſential to holy Orders, and conſequently the inſtitution of Epiſcopacy, and whatever is annexed to it. It is compriſed in four Chapters, and treats of

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the Inſtitution of the Prieſthood of the new Law; and of thoſe Claſſes which properly belong to holy Orders, as Prieſthood, Deacon, and Under-deaconſhip; and of the inferior Orders, as Readers, Exorciſts, and the reſt.—The Fathers define Order to be truly a Sacrament, by which Grace is conferred; that the holy Ordination is performed by words and outward ſigns, and imprints an indelible character in the perſon who receives it.—They then declare, "that Biſhops, who are Succeſſors to the Apoſtles, belong principally to the Hierarchy; and are appointed by the Holy Ghoſt, as St. *Paul* ſays, *to Govern the Church of God:* that they are of a ſuperior rank to Prieſts; and that it belongs to them to confer the Sacrament of Confirmation, ordain the Miniſters of the Altar, and perform ſeveral other functions, which the inferiour Clergy are not impowered to do."—They declare, likewiſe, Ordination not to be made void, though the interpoſition of the ſecular power ſhould be wanting; and that thoſe, who are eſtabliſhed by that only, are not to be reputed Miniſters of the Church. And by the laſt of the eight Canons, which followed the Doctrinal Chapters, they pronounce an Anathema on whoever aſſerts that Biſhops appointed by the Pope's authority, are not truly and lawfully ſo; but that this practice is a mere human invention.

It is viſible, from the caution with which the Articles concerning Epiſcopacy are drawn up, that the Council avoided an explicit deciſion of the nature of the Right, from which the Juriſdiction of that Order is derived.—The ſame moderation was uſed with reſpect to the Papal Prerogatives, on which, while the ſubject was diſcuſſed, there had been a great diverſity of opinions. *Laius*, in the General Aſſemblies which preceded the Seſſion, had maintained that the whole Hierarchy was com-

comprifed in the Pope's perfon; and that Bifhops themfelves had neither jurifdiction, nor power, but inafmuch as they held it from him: but he was refuted with great folidity on thefe and other heads, wherein the opinions he had advanced were no lefs extream, by *John of Verdun*, a Benedictine Monk.

THE Decree concerning Reformation, which paffed this Seffion, as ufual, after that of Faith, treats of the Refidence of the Clergy more at large, than had been done under *Paul* III. and takes in the Cardinals by name, whofe abfence it limits to two or three months in the year, at moft. It enjoins thofe who are named to Bifhopricks, to be confecrated within three months; and commands them to confer holy Orders, and not fend their Diocefans to be ordained by other Prelates: it difqualifies all under fourteen years to hold benefices, though they have received the tonfure, and the four inferiour orders; and prohibits Abbots to confer thefe on any befides Regulars, who belong to their jurifdiction. It prefcribes the ftated intervals to be obferved between the collation of each order; and appoints the twenty-fecond year for Underdeaconfhip, the twenty-third for Deaconfhip, and the twenty-fifth for Priefthood. No priefts who have not a benefice, to which the care of Souls is annexed, are allowed, without a particular licence of the Bifhop, to be Minifters of the Sacrament of Penitence: and the fixth Canon of the Council of *Calcedon* is renewed, which reftrains the number of the Clergy to the utility and exigencies of the Church.—The Inferiour Clergy are reinftated in the functions proper to their refpective Claffes; and where their number is not fufficient to perform thofe of the four leffer Orders, their place may be fupplied by Laymen, who have been once married, who are to be tonfured, and, when they officiate, to wear

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the Clerical Habit.—This long and edifying Decree, which takes up eighteen chapters, concludes with regulations for eſtabliſhing Seminaries in every Dioceſe; which was judged ſo uſeful, that many of the Fathers affirmed, was this to be the ſole fruit of the Council, it would make abundantly amends for all their pains.—The Pope was the firſt to ſet the example of this laudable inſtitution by founding the Roman Siminary, which he aſſigned to the care of the Jeſuits.

THIS Seſſion being over, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador moved, that thoſe who were ſeparated from the Catholic Church, ſhould be again invited to the Council; but as this meaſure muſt have occaſioned a great delay in affairs, which had already been much protracted, it was ſet aſide; and regulations prepared for the Decree againſt the Clandeſtine Marriages. The Committees for this purpoſe were held in Cardinal *Moron*'s, the chief Legate's Palace; but the Fathers coming to no reſolution, the meeting, in which this point was to have been decided, and which was fixed on the 16th of *September*, was adjourned to the 11th of *November*; which vacation the Cardinal of *Lorrain* made uſe of to go to *Rome*, in order to confer with the Pope.

THE *French* King, at the ſame time, ſent a peremptory order to his Ambaſſadors to enter their proteſt againſt a Decree for the reformation of Sovereigns, which was reported to be in readineſs; and in caſe any ſuch ſtep was taken, to withdraw to *Venice*. *Du Ferrier*, one of the Ambaſſadors, ſpoke on this head with great vehemence, in full Council: and having been anſwered, with equal vivacity, by the Biſhop of *Monteſiaſcone*, he replied by a Diſcourſe of paſſion and reſentment, rather than of proof and argument, which he publiſhed with what he calls his *Apology*, and then retired to *Venice*.—The Object of this projected Re-

formation was to withdraw the Clergy, both as to their perſons and effects, thoſe which they held by inheritance not excepted, from the Temporal Power; and ſubſtitute the Pope and Biſhops in the place of Kings and Magiſtrates. It was very natural that the intereſted Powers ſhould abſolutely reject a regulation no leſs repugnant to the doctrine of JESUS CHRIST and his Apoſtles, than to the authority of the civil Magiſtrate, and to public order and tranquillity.

BUT, whatever might have been the deſign of particular perſons, nothing can ſet forth the general ſenſe of the Council with reſpect to this imputation, in a clearer light, than the ſhort and pathetic exhortation addreſſed to Sovereigns in the laſt *Seſſion*, which I ſhall here tranſcribe.—"The Fathers have nothing ſo much at heart, as the re-eſtabliſhment of Church Diſcipline among all Orders of Chriſtians; and, that it be not only inviolably obſerved at preſent, but ſecured againſt all future attempts to weaken it. On this account, beſides the regulations which concern the Clergy, they deem it incumbent on them to admoniſh temporal Princes of their duty, and have a confidence that, in quality of Catholics and Protectors of the holy Faith, they will not only readily concur in ſupport of the Rights of the Church, but will likewiſe prevail on their Subjects to pay to Churchmen in general, to Pariſh Prieſts, and to the higher Orders of Eccleſiaſtics, a ſuitable reſpect; and not only ſecure thoſe immunities, which are eſtabliſhed by the order of God and Canonical inſtitutions, from being infringed, but inforce the deference of their Dependants by their own example. The holy Council, therefore, declares to them, that they are to look on themſelves as under an obligation of obſerving the Canons, the Decrees of all general Councils, and other Apoſtolical Ordinances, made in favour of Eccleſiaſti-

cal persons and the liberties of the Church, and against those who injure them: and moreover, reminds Emperors, Kings, Commonwealths, Princes and all persons of whatever dignity, that their obligation on these heads is greater in proportion to the advantages of temporal blessings and extent of power they enjoy above others: and that this pre-eminence ought to give them a holy veneration for what appertains more immediately to the service of God, as being under their peculiar protection. That, the piety and religion of the Princes, their Predecessors, is proposed to their imitation, who not content to protect the Church against all hostile attempts, had by their authority and munificence greatly contributed to the advantages she enjoyed.—In conclusion, the Fathers entreat each of them to fill up the measure of his duty, that God may be worshipped in holiness, and without unnecessary avocation; and Bishops and other Ecclesiastics enjoy an undisturbed tranquillity in the places of their Residence, and apply themselves in their several functions, to the edification of the people and their own advancement in Virtue."

THE decree concerning Marriage was published in the next Session, on the 11th of *November*, and declares this engagement of no effect, if the bans are not thrice published; unless the Ordinary dispenses with the publication: and if it be not ratified by the Parish Priest, in the presence of two or three witnesses. The Council, likewise, condemns those who assert Matrimony to be void, unless it be contracted with the consent of Parents, and that these can neither annul or make it valid. —The impediments to Marriage, which arise from spiritual affinity, public decency and fornication are treated of: and those who knowingly shall contract marriage within the prohibited degrees, are to be separated without hope of a more favour-

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able treatment: and that a diſpenſation within the ſecond degree of conſanguinity is not to be granted, unleſs in favour of Princes, or ſome public utility. The Council declares there can be no marriage between the Raviſher and the perſon forcibly taken away, ſo long as ſhe continues in his power; and preſcribes the cautions to be obſerved in the marriages of Vagabonds and ſuch as have no home: and pronounces Excommunication againſt thoſe who live in concubinage, unleſs they ſeparate after the third admonition of their Ordinary; and againſt all who put an obſtruction to the freedom of marriage. It renews the ancient prohibition of ſolemnizing marriage from Advent till after Twelfth-Day, and from Aſh-Wedneſday till after Low-Sunday.—This Decree, which is particularized through ſix chapters, is introduced by a ſhort preface, which ſums up the doctrine of this Sacrament; and by twelve Canons or Rules of Faith: of which the fifth, ſixth, and twelfth, are moſt obſervable. They pronounce a curſe on thoſe who affirm that the bond of marriage can be diſſolved on account of hereſy; or that this contract is not annulled by a ſolemn engagement in a Religious ſtate, made by either of the parties before the conſummation of the marriage; or, laſtly, that the cauſes relative to Matrimony do not belong to the Eccleſiaſtical court.

THE Decree concerning Reformation, which paſſed in this Seſſion, contains twenty-one Chapters; eleven of which are employed on what regards the choice of Cardinals and Biſhops; on the duties of their ſtation, and the privileges annexed to it.—It obſerves the obligation the Pope lies under of ſupplying the Sacred College with Members worthy ſuch a Senate, and from all Nations of Chriſtendom. It appoints Provincial Councils to be held every three years; and Dioceſan, every year; and limits Epiſcopal Viſitation to the ſame

term. And no appeal, even to the holy See, no privilege or exemption whatever is to hinder or ſuſpend the execution of what is enacted for the reformation of manners in theſe Judicial Meetings. Biſhops are enjoined to appoint Penitentiaries in their Cathedrals, and to impoſe public penitence for public crimes, unleſs in caſes when this practice would be leſs expedient. The cognizance of all criminal cauſes brought againſt Biſhops, eſpecially that of Hereſy, is reſerved to the Pope; and elſewhere, in the ſame decree, they are authoriſed to abſolve others from that crime, but not to delegate their power to their Grand Vicars. The Council directs that no perſon under the age of five and twenty be promoted to any preferment, to which the care of Souls is annexed; or to any other ſpiritual dignity, if he be two years ſhort of that term: that Archdeacons ſhall be Doctors, or Bachelors of Divinity, or Licentiates in the Canon Law. The Fathers would have the moiety, at leaſt, of the prebends in the Cathedral, and the more conſiderable Collegiate Churches conferred on them. They aboliſh, alſo, the Entrance fees, which were paid on theſe occaſions. Chapters are commanded to meet on the vacancy of a See, and appoint a grand Vicar within 18 days after the deceaſe of the Biſhop; and no one is to hold two benefices, unleſs one of them be not ſufficient for a decent maintenance; in which caſe he is allowed to hold a ſimple one with it. As to thoſe who hold ſeveral Pariſh Churches, or a Cathdral with a Parochial Church, they are to be conſtrained, within ſix months, to relinquiſh all but one. And as the ſpiritual welfare of Chriſtians depends, in great meaſure on the qualities of thoſe, under whoſe more immediate care and direction they are, the Council treats at large of the choice and examination of Pariſh Prieſts; and, among other regulations, appoints, that within ten days after the

vacancy of a Parſonage, the Biſhop and perſon who has the right of preſentation ſhall name ſeveral Eccleſiaſtics to be examined by the former, and three others appointed by him; and the Parſonage to be conferred on him who ſhall be judged beſt qualified.—There are in the Decree other proviſions againſt abuſes in the collation of Benefices.

THE length, to which the council had been protracted, began to make the Fathers deſire to bring it to a concluſion; for which they aſſign this reaſon in the following Seſſion, which was the laſt: "that ſuch a number of biſhops from ſo many different Provinces of Chriſtianity could not abſent themſelves any longer from their reſpective Churches without a conſiderable detriment to the People committed to their charge." In this Seſſion, which was held on the 3d of *December*, and was the 25th ſince the firſt ſitting, two Decrees were publiſhed concerning Purgatory, the Invocation of Saints, and the reſpect due to their relicks and images. And becauſe the Church of *Rome* has not been more ſlandered, nor her doctrine more miſrepreſented than in the above mentioned particulars, I ſhall here ſet down what was defined concerning them, as it contains the whole belief and practice of the Catholic Church with reſpect to each of theſe Articles. The Decree on Purgatory being ſhort, I ſhall preſent my Reader with a tranſlation of the whole.

"The Catholic Church, inſtructed by the Holy Ghoſt, has always taught in preceding Councils, and lately in the General one which is now ſitting, according to the holy Scriptures and the doctrine of all Antiquity, that there is a Purgatory; and that the Souls there detained are aſſiſted by the prayers of the Faithful, and chiefly by the ſacrifice of the Altar, ſo worthy of God's gracious acceptance. The holy Council, therefore, commands

mands Biſhops to be particularly watchful that the belief of the Faithful concerning this tenet, be conformable to the ſound doctrine, which has been tranſmitted to us by the holy Fathers and Councils; and to ſee it be preached to them in this manner. To take care that in public diſcourſes to a groſs and ignorant multitude, all difficult and ſubtle diſcuſſions of this ſubject be avoided, which neither inſtruct nor edify. Nor are they to permit any thing that is uncertain, or has the appearance of falſehood to be advanced on this head; and to proſcribe whatever ſavours of curioſity or ſuperſtition, or cauſes diſedification and ſcandal, as owing its origin to unbecoming and ſordid lucre. They are, likewiſe, to be watchful that the Offerings of the Faithful, as Maſſes, Prayers, Alms, and other works of piety, which are wont to be performed for the repoſe of the Departed, be diſcharged with devotion; and that the relief which is due to Souls in a ſeparate ſtate, be diſcharged, not in a haſty and negligent manner, but with care and accuracy, by Prieſts who ſerve the Church, or others who are obliged to it."

The other Decree concerning the Invocation of Saints, is drawn up as fully, and with a diſcernment and dignity equal to any thing in the whole Council. It enters on the ſubject, "by commanding Biſhops, and all who are ch rged with the inſtruction of the people, to inform them particularly of what concerns the interceſſion made to Saints, the honour paid to their Relicks, and the approved uſe of Images; as theſe practices are obſerved by the Catholic and Apoſtolic Church, received from the earlieſt times of Chriſtianity, and conformable to the unanimous conſent of the holy fathers and decrees of Councils. They are to teach, that the Saints, who reign with Chriſt, offer up to God their prayers for men; that it is lawful and ſalutary to have recourſe to their interceſſion

ceſſion and aid, and to pray to them; in order to obtain grace and favour of God, through his ſon JESUS CHRIST, our Lord and only Redeemer and Mediator: and that thoſe who deny the lawfulneſs of this practice, or maintain that the Saints do not pray for us, or that it is idolatrous to deſire their prayers for each one in particular; or that it is repugnant to the word of God, and to the honour due to JESUS CHRIST, the only Redeemer and Mediator between God and Man; or that ſuch uſage is folly, have ſentiments contrary to true Piety.—The Faithful, in like manner, are to bear reſpect to the holy bodies of the Martyrs and other Saints, who enjoy eternal life with JESUS CHRIST; theſe bodies having formerly been his living members, and the Temple of the holy Ghoſt, and are hereafter to be reſuſcitated to life eternal; and God himſelf often conferring great benefits through their means. Inſomuch, as thoſe who affirm neither honour nor veneration to be due to the Relicks of Saints; and that it is to no purpoſe for the Faithful to pay a reſpect to them, and other ſacred Memorials; or to viſit places conſecrated to their memory, in order to obtain their aſſiſtance, are abſolutely to be condemned, as the holy Church formerly has, and now again paſſes ſentence on them.—The Images, likewiſe, of JESUS CHRIST, of the Virgin Mother of God, and the other Saints, are to be retained, particularly in Churches; and a due reſpect is to be paid to them. Not that we believe the Divinity, or any power, to reſide in them, on account of which this reverence is paid: or that any thing is to be aſked of, or any confidence placed in them, as the Pagans put their truſt in Idols: but becauſe the honour paid to them, is referred to the Originals which they repreſent. Thus, in the Images we kiſs, before which we uncover our heads, and proſtrate ourſelves, we adore JESUS CHRIST, and pay our reſpects

refpects to his Saints, whofe refemblance they bear: as this doctrine has been already defined, particularly in the fecond Council of *Nice*, againft thofe who oppugned it.—The people are, moreover, to be taught that the Myfteries of our Redemption thus reprefented, are defigned to render the Articles of our belief familiar to them; and that they not only renew the remembrance of benefits received, and of the wonderful things which God has operated in his Saints, and the wholefome example they have left us; but awaken our gratitude and animate us to an imitation of their behaviour, to adore and love the fupreme Being, and lead a life of piety: and thofe who advance any doctrine contrary to thefe Decrees, or diffent from them, are anathematized."

If any abufe has crept into fuch holy and falutary obfervances, the Council ardently defires it fhould be abolifhed; that no images be expofed which can give occafion to error, or become a fnare to the ignorant: and where the reprefentations are taken from Scripture, the illiterate Vulgar, for whofe aid they are chiefly defigned, are to be carefully informed, that the Divine Being is above all refemblance, and not to be expreffed by colours, or outward form.—In the invocation of Saints, the veneration of Relicks, and the due ufe of Images, all manner of Superftition, all fordid and illiberal gain, and whatever is inconfiftent with decency, is to be fhunned.—After thefe general injunctions, the Council enters into a detail of feveral practices, which it ranks under thefe heads: and prefcribes the caution to be obferved in the examination of Miracles, in abolifhing either cuftoms, whofe lawfulnefs is equivocal, or inveterate Evils; and deciding important queftions on thefe matters.

There were likewife two Decrees concerning manners, publifhed at the fame time; one of which

which regards Religious perſons of both Sexes; the other, a general Reformation. The firſt is divided into two and twenty chapters; by the third of which all Monaſteries, even of the mendicant Orders, and thoſe who otherwiſe were prohibited by their Conſtitutions, are allowed, for the future, to have immoveable goods. An exception was made at the earneſt requeſt of ſome branches of St. *Francis*'s inſtitute: and *Laynes*, who had ſucceeded to the government of the Jeſuits, though, at firſt, he made the ſame petition for the profeſſed houſes of his Society, yet he afterwards deſiſted from it. By the fifth Chapter an exact Encloſure is conjoined to all Religious Women; and the ninth and tenth contain the Regulations of Convents immediately ſubject to the holy See, which are to be governed by the Biſhops of the place, as Delegates of that See: and Religious Women are to be admoniſhed, by their inſtitutions, to confeſs themſelves and receive the holy Euchariſt, at leaſt once a month. The eleventh ſubjects ſuch as exerciſe in Convents the functions of Pariſh Prieſts, to the authority of the Ordinary. The fifteenth prohibits any perſon to take religious vows before they are full ſixteen years old, and have paſſed one in a probationary ſtate. A curſe is pronounced againſt whoever conſtrains any one to enter on a Religious ſtate, or hinders them from ſo doing: and religious perſons who have any cauſe to object to the validity of their engagement, are allowed to do it within five years after their entrance, but theſe elapſed, they are no more to be heard. As theſe Articles, which concern Religious perſons, take in a conſiderable part of the Hierarchy, and the beauty of the whole Church depends ſo much on their regularity, the committees and general Conventions which prepared the heads, took every precaution to include in them whatever could anſwer that pur-

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pose; as must appear to all judicious persons who read them with attention.

AFTER this decree which regarded the Monastic profession, the Fathers immediately proceeded to the duties of the Episcopal Order; and the directions given on this Article are not inferiour to any part of the Council: which then goes on to the charge of Heads of Universities and Colleges, and of those who have the care of others: and having here an opening to explain itself on the subject of Excommunication, it begins with the following caution; "that though this punishment be the nerve of Ecclesiastical Discipline; and every expedient to contain the People within the bounds of duty, yet it was to be used with great sobriety and moderation; since it had been found by experience, that a too frequent use, and on slight occasions caused it rather to be despised than feared, and produced greater Evil than Good." The following part of the articles enters on the causes which justify the inflicting this punishment, and prescribes several regulations concerning it. The Fathers had several other matters to determine, but, night coming on, they adjourn to the next day, when they published five other Decrees, with which they put an end to the Session, and closed the Council.

THE first of these Articles concerns a practice of such consequence, and which has been the object of so much obloquy, as to deserve to be transcribed from the words of the Council. "The power of granting Indulgences having been conferred by JESUS CHRIST on his Church she has made use of it from the earliest times, as derived from God. The holy Council, therefore, ordains that it be retained as very salutary and approved by the authority of former Synods, and pronounces an Anathema on those who say that Indulgences are unlawful, or deny the Church's power to grant

grant them. It requires, nevertheleſs, that according to the ancient approved cuſtom, they ſhould be granted with reſerve and moderation, leſt a too great facility in this point weaken Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline. But as to abuſes which have been introduced, and given occaſion to Hereticks to traduce this favourable appellation, the Council is extremely deſirous they ſhould be reformed, and commands whatever has the appearance of illicit gain, in the diſtribution of them, to be aboliſhed, as having been productive of great diſorders. And as for other diſorders, which have their riſe either in ſuperſtition, ignorance, irreverence, or any ſuch like ſource; and of which, on account of their number and variety in different places, it would be hard to enter on a detail, all Biſhops are required to look into theſe particulars, in their reſpective Dioceſes, in order to lay them before the firſt Provincial Synod; that being found unlawful by the conſent of the other Biſhops, the relation may be ſent to the Pope, that by his authority and prudence, he may regulate the whole, as ſhall be moſt expedient: and the treaſure of Indulgences be diſpenſed to the Faithful with piety and holineſs, and without any juſt cauſe of complaint." This is the whole definition of the Catholic Church concerning this Article; though the generality of thoſe who are ſeparated from her Communion, and take their notions from ſuch as are unacquainted with her doctrine, or chuſe to miſrepreſent it, think the very reverſe of what is here ſet down.

The ſecond of the five mentioned Decrees preſcribes the obſervance of faſts and feſtivals, and aſſigns the reaſon of each. The third remits to the Pope's care the catalogue of prohibited Works, and the correction of the books which contain the Church ſervice, the Miſſal and Breviary; that, having been reviſed by his orders, they may

come

come out by his authority. It aſſigns to him, alſo, the publiſhing the Catechiſm, and commands the memorials of theſe ſeveral heads, which had been drawn up by Committees appointed for each purpoſe, to be put into his Holineſs's hands.—The ignorance in which both the Clergy and Laity were plunged, particularly ſince the Council of *Bâle*, and in *Germany* deeper than elſewhere, had facilitated the way to innovations in Religion. The Fathers, therefore, who ſaw the extent of the Evil, had ordered an Inſtruction to be drawn up for the Parochial Clergy, in form of a Cathechiſm, which can never be ſufficiently commended, nor ſtudied too much.

THE fourth Decree, which orders the acceptance of the Council, and the execution of its Decrees, was compoſed by the Cardinals of *Lorrain*, and *Madrucci*; who, to obviate all objections, weighed the terms with a very exact ſcrutiny.—This Decree was followed by a freſh reading of thoſe that had been made under *Paul*, and *Julius* III. after which, the fifth and laſt Decree was publiſhed, for putting an end to this celebrated aſſembly, which was opened at *Trent*, in the year 1545, and by ſeveral prorogations continued through eighteen years, till the year 1563. It ended with ſuch univerſal ſatisfaction on the part of the Biſhops, that the greater number teſtified their joy by their tears. The Cardinal of *Lorrain*, to avoid confuſion, compoſed the order of Acclamations, which were to be made at the cloſe, and having pronounced them with an audible voice, the Fathers joined in teſtifying their aſſent, and confirming the good wiſhes he had made.—It appears from the acts of the Council, that it is accounted the twentieth of the General. It was ſubſcribed to by two hundred and fifty-five Fathers, including Biſhops, Abbots, and Heads of Religious Orders; viz. four Legates, two Cardinals, three Patri-

archs,

archs, twenty five Archbiſhops, one hundred and ſixty-eight Biſhops, ſeven Abbots, thirty-nine Proxies, and ſeventeen Heads of Religious Orders. —In the ſubſcription, to the words *I have ſubſcribed*, all the Fathers added, *as Definer*, except the Proxies, who had never been allowed the right of voting.—Two days after all the Ambaſſadors who were at *Trent*, except the Count *de Luna*, received the Decrees, and ſigned them ſeparately from the ſubſcription of the Fathers.—The ratification of the Acts having been petitioned with the uſual formalities, in the name of the whole council, the Pope confirmed them on the 26th of *January*, 1564, and reſerves to himſelf the deciſion of any difficulty which may ariſe on the ſubject.—The Fathers had likewiſe paid the ſame deference to the holy See in their laſt Decree.—The Ordonances of the Council were to take place on the firſt of the following *May:* and a Committee of eight Cardinals was eſtabliſhed to bring them into practice.

The Council of *Trent* was received without any reſtriction by the Kingdom of *Portugal*, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Savoy*. The *Spaniards*, the *Flemings*, *Neapolitans* and *Sicilians*, cauſed it to be publiſhed with a caution as to any part of its Diſcipline, which might be derogatory to the claims of their reſpective Sovereignties; but without any particular reſtriction; and Cardinal *Commendon* obtained of the King of *Poland*, to receive it in full Senate, and in their preſence who had renounced the communion of the Church.—The Emperor moved a difficulty in admitting it, by perſiſting to demand the uſe of the Cup, and the marriage of the Prieſthood; the firſt of which was allowed under certain limitations, and where there ſhould be ſufficient cauſe. It was never publiſhed in *France*, becauſe ſome of its regulations are not conformable to the cuſtoms of that

Kingdom, and to what are termed Privileges of the Gallican Church. But the *Doctrine* is universally submitted to, and the Church of *France* has unanimously acknowledged in it, the ancient and unvaried Faith of the Catholic Church.—In the following year, 1565, several Provincial Councils were assembled in different States, for the publication of its Decrees; the most celebrated of which is that held at *Milan*, by Cardinal *Charles Borromeo*, Archbishop of that City, who, though then very young, drew on himself the admiration of all *Europe*, by his zeal, his eloquence, and the majesty with which he presided at this Assembly, of which he was the Soul.

If the Author had not grounds to think that the foregoing account of the Council of *Trent*, would have, at least, the recommendation of novelty with the generality of his Readers, some part of it might have been contracted into a narrower compass: and it may be deemed needless, after such a detail, to add Reflection to matter of Fact. Cardinal Pole having presided at several Sessions of this great Assembly, the subject of this History is immediately interested in those transactions, in which he had a share: and the intimate connection which the Continuation and Close of the Council had with the Opening, made the relation of the latter necessary, in a Work where the former could not have been omitted. As to any observations which arise from the subject, it would really be superfluous to point them out, were the several Articles and Decrees read with attention, and impartially weighed; because these furnish so many and so useful, that a Writer must be vain indeed, who thinks to suggest any thing which can either raise a higher Idea of Wisdom than appears through every part of it, or inforce its truth and moral with greater energy than the Text itself.

The first Council held at *Jerusalem*, by the Apostles, is the Plan on which the Catholic Church has ever proceeded in her general Conventions, on questions of Faith and Discipline. The following Incident gave occasion to it. There had been a considerable disagreement among the Faithful concerning the obligation of the Mosaical Observances: on which a deputation was sent to *Jerusalem*, where the preaching of the Gospel began, and where St. *Peter*, the Prince and Chief of the Apostolic College then was. On this, as many of the Apostles and Priests, as the circumstances of the times would admit, met and discussed the question at leisure, and with great exactness. St. *Peter* presides at the Meeting, he opens it by proposing the matter in debate, and saying, *they were informed that God, from ancient times, had made choice of* him *to declare the Gospel to the heathen world, and bring them over to it.* But tho' he is first who delivers his judgment, he is not the sole Judge. St. *James*, who was Bishop of *Jerusalem*, judges also, and expresses himself in that authoritative Character. When those, who chose to give their opinion, had spoken, the question is decided; and the decision grounded on the holy Scriptures, and drawn up by the common consent of all present. It is then committed to Writing, not as a human determination, but an Oracle; and those, in whose name it is sent, say at the head of the Definition, with all assurance, *It has seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to Us.*" The decision thus made is sent to particular Churches, not to be examined, but received and executed with an entire submission.—The World has never seen a more illustrious Copy of this venerable Original than that of which I have given the abridgment, as will appear to every Comparer of its proceedings with what is related in the Acts of the Apostles.

Acts, ch. xv.

The Council receives no leſs authority from the Perſons who compoſed it, who were as knowing and learned as ever met on ſuch, or any other occaſion. This appears from their characters tranſmitted to us by thoſe who were perſonally acquainted with them, and were themſelves very great men; and by the Writings, by which ſeveral of that Aſſembly have recommended their own Fame to poſterity. Agreeably to theſe advantages, and to the occaſions of thoſe unhappy times, they entered on a greater detail, both of the Tenets which were to be aſcertained, the errors to be condemned, and the points of Diſcipline reformed, than had ever yet enlightened any period of Chriſtian Æra.—The bare defence of Truth was by no means the ſole end of theſe Regulations; and no Work, next to *the Supreme of Books, and Sublime of all Writings**, gives ſo noble and accurate an Idea of the doctrine and morality of the Goſpel; ſuch proofs of the one, and ſuch encouragement to live up to the other; and is ſo proper to remove the prejudices, under which the Catholic cauſe labours, with thoſe who are ſeparated from her communion; by letting them ſee what her Faith and Practice preſcribe, and on what foundation they both reſt: and, therefore, no reading can be more ſalutary to perſons of all Ranks.

The Members of her own communion will, above all others, find motives of acquieſcence in the guidance of a Church, which they perceive to be ſtill the ſame, amidſt all thoſe changes which ſurround and paſs before her: that Her unerring Light is, at once clear, unchanged, and univerſal; and has, in every age, imparted the Rule of Belief and Action to All who have any claim to a ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles: and been the ſource and

* Mr. *Pope* of the Holy Scriptures.

teſt

teſt of every rightful tenet. That, like the Soul, which feeds the whole frame with ſpirits, ſupplies it with vigour, directs each motion, and ſuſtains every nerve, this divine Direction has provided not only Nations and Provinces, but Individuals with ſpiritual ſupplies ſuited to all their neceſſities †. "The calamity of the times is ſuch, ſays the Council, and the perverſeneſs of thoſe who are fallen from the Church ſo obſtinate, that there was nothing ſo clearly proved, or ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, which they have not vitiated." This engaged the Fathers to apply themſeves, in a particular manner, to diſprove and reject the errors which then obtained, and to elucidate thoſe truths, by which they are principally contraſted: in all which they have added nothing to the Doctrine of Antiquity, but placed in an advantageous light what the Innovators endeavoured to obſcure. They were led to this method by the invariable practice of paſt ages, which had never failed to decide ac-

† Christi verò Eccleſia ſedula et cauta depoſitorum apud ſe Dogmatum cuſtos, nihil in iis unquam permutat, nihil minuit, nihil addit: non amputat neceſſaria, non apponit ſuperflua: non amittit ſua, non uſurpat aliena: ſed omni induſtriâ hoc unum ſtudet, ut vetera fidelitur ſapienterque tractando, ſi quæ ſunt illa antiquitùs informata et inchoata, accuret et poliat; ſi quæ jam expreſſa et enucleata, conſolidet, firmet; ſi quæ jam confirmata et definita, cuſtodiat. Denique quid unquam aliud Conciliorum Decretis enixa eſt, niſi ut quod anteà ſimpliciter credebantur, hoc idem poſteà diligentiùs crederetur; quod anteà lentiùs prædicabantur, hoc idem poſteà inſtantiùs prædicaretur; quod anteà ſecuriùs colebatur, hoc idem poſteà ſollicitiùs excoleretur? Hoc, inquam, ſemper, neque quicquam præterea, Hæreticorum novitatibus excitata, Conciliorum ſuorum decretis Catholica perfecit Eccleſia, niſi ut quod prius à Majoribus ſolâ traditione ſuſceperat, hoc deinde Poſteris etiam per Scripturæ chirographum conſignaret: magnam rerum ſummam paucis litteris comprehendendo; et plerumque propter intelligentiæ lucem, non novum fidei ſenſum novæ appellationis proprietate ſignando. *Vicentii Lirinenſis*, adverſus Hæreſes, Commonitorii cap. xxxii. The Author lived in the 5th Century.

 cording

cording to what an uniform tradition had deliver-ed down to them. For whatever Truth is called in queſtion, and at whatever diſtance of time, the Diſputants always find the Church in the ſame ſi-tuation, and equally ready to oppoſe to them the ſame Decrees, which the holy See and the Unani-mity of the Faithful have formerly pronounced, without adding any thing but what was neceſſary to confute new errors, which have riſen up againſt Truths as ancient as Chriſtianity. Thus, this General Council, like all the preceding, has been an illuſtrious evidence that the Chriſtian Faith, which has the Source of Truth for its Author, partakes of the Unity of its divine Origin, which cannot be divided, and that any diſcord would be the deſtruction of the Whole.

THOUGH a ſupernatural aſſiſtance was aſſured to this ſupreme Tribunal, every rational inveſti-gation by which Error is detected, and its contra-ry Truth inforced, was made uſe of in the Com-mittees and general Conventions which prepared the matter for the Seſſions, and in the method ob-ſerved in theſe laſt deciſive Meetings. Hence the Deciſions are not leſs clear and preciſe, than abſo-lute and peremptory; the Council having con-ſtantly taken care to remove whatever might give the mind a pretext to go aſtray, as has been ſeen in the Articles of the invocation of Saints, of Pur-gatory, and of the reſpect due to holy Images; and the ſame might be exemplified in other In-ſtances. A completeneſs, therefore, ſuch as leaves nothing to be deſired, is as remarkable in theſe Decrees, as their agreement with each other, and with the belief of all Antiquity. Theſe Ad-vantages become more extenſive, as the high Court of Judicature that enjoys them, not being at a loſs to find her doctrine, explains herſelf with-out difficulty or circumlocution; and, for this reaſon, neither loads nor perplexes her deciſions

with

with unneceſſary words. As ſhe contemplates the moſt ſublime Myſteries without being loſt in their blaze, ſhe propoſes them without ambiguity, being aſſured to find in thoſe, to whom ſhe ſpeaks, a readineſs "to captivate their underſtanding to the obedience of Faith," and a ſtrength of mind capable of ſupporting the weight of the divine Secret.

THE Adverſaries, indeed, of the Church of *Rome* have objected to her, after *Fra. Paolo*, that the Council of *Trent* has generally delivered itſelf in obſcure and equivocal terms. But this Objection could never have been made but with a view to miſrepreſent this Aſſembly, to thoſe who were never likely to read its Acts. A moderate attention to what is there contained, even in the ſketch here given, will evince this charge to be no leſs deſtitute of foundation, than the ſneer of an impious Scoffer, the diſgrace of his age and country, who call the whole, *a ſolemn banter*. But, as a celebrated French Critic obſerves, the nobleſt ſubjects are moſt liable to burleſque, by perverting their meaning; as ſome pictures, by varying the poſition, repreſent a Man or a Monſter.

The late Lord *B.*

Dacier, on the 3d. B. of the *Odyſſey*.

SHOULD any doubt concerning this perſpicuity yet remain, as to any decided point; every intelligent and equitable Reader will reflect, that Almighty God, who beſt knows to what a degree of knowledge it is fitting Man's underſtanding ſhould attain, by the Truths he is pleaſed to reveal, leaves us often in the dark with reſpect to ſeveral circumſtances which accompany theſe truths, and to the manner of explaining them; and this creates a neceſſity of uſing only general expreſſions on ſuch occaſions, in order to remain within the moderation recommended by St. *Paul*, and, not contrary to the rule he has laid down, *Be more wiſe than it behoves us to be*; *but to be wiſe with ſobriety.* But though the terms employed in ſuch caſes are

general, they are not vague, and neither cauſe an ambiguous or equivocal ſenſe, though they may not convey evidence to the laſt preciſion. That good faith in pronouncing only on what was certain, and not wrapping up any doubtful tenet in the deciſion, ſo worthy the authority of the Repreſentative of the Catholic Church was obſerved through all the Seſſions. I ſhall content myſelf with giving the following inſtance.—The form of a decree had been drawn up, from whence the Pope's ſuperiority to a general Council might be inferred. This was oppoſed by the French Biſhops and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* at their head, and *Pallavacini* relates that the Pope being conſulted, made anſwer, that nothing ſhould be defined, but by the unanimous conſent of the Fathers, and the Decree was accordingly ſuppreſſed.

To this moderation in defining only what was to conſtitute the Catholic Doctrine, we are to join the pathetic Addreſſes to thoſe who had forſaken it; and the gravity of the Admonitions, which introduce, by way of Preface, ſome of the Seſſions, and are intermixed with the precepts which regard Diſcipline; becauſe they manifeſt the Father's univerſal diſpoſition to acquit themſelves of every part of their charge, and muſt be felt by all who do not read with a luſt to miſapply.—The ſame dignity and preciſion which diſtinguiſh the matter and affect the ſentiment and expreſſion, have cauſed ſuch a variety of ſubject to be compriſed in one ſmall volume, and placed the Council of *Trent* on a level, at leaſt, with the moſt celebrated and accurate compoſitions: and made each part to be enounced with remarkable life and Spirit.—This accuracy is recommended by an exemption from all repetitions; by a method, which is, every where, regular; a matter, connected; a diction, clear, conciſe and nervous; and an arrangement and harmony of parts, which gives perſpicuity and

ſtrength

ſtrength even to the minuteſt precepts and definitions, and an additional advantage to what precedes and follows in its proper place; and makes the whole worthy the majeſty of ſuch a Legiſlature, and a Cauſe the moſt ſacred and important to which the mind of Man can be admitted. I may add, without departing from the notion of that ſerious and Chriſtian Sublime which is affixed to ſuch an Aſſembly, that though nothing can be more polite or diſpaſſionate than the manner in which all the Decrees and whatever has any relation to them, is penned, yet this is done with a noble ſimplicity, without any affectation of the ornaments of ſpeech, and the whole attention is viſibly taken up in inſtructing, not in gaining applauſe. The Aſſeſſors of this Tribunal every where diſcover that generous diſdain and abhorrence of capital error and vice, which they could not have diſſembled without departing from their character; but they do it with a due regard to the weakneſs of Mankind; and endeavour more to reform than chaſtiſe; tho', in their place, one could not always be effected without the other. The form in which the Acts of the Biſhops of *Rome* are drawn up, which from the *Bulla*, or Great Seal, are called *Bulls*, like that of the Acts of other Sovereigns, is, for the moſt part, neither very engaging nor entertaining, yet thoſe prefixed to the ſeveral parts of the Council, are not liable to this objection.

THE frequent interruptions, and the length of time thro' which the Council was protracted, muſt have occaſioned an almoſt total ſucceſſion of the Members, who, at different times, compoſed it; yet an uniformity of ſtyle and ſentiment appears through the Decrees of all the Seſſions, no leſs than if they had been enacted and written by the ſame Convention, or even by the ſame perſon: ſo much did *That ſpirit, which fills, connects, and* *Wiſdom, ch. 1.*
bounds

bounds the Univerſe, and has, by way of excellence, the gift of elocution, prevail over all human obſtacles; and ſtamp the Image of Himſelf, unity, truth, and ſanctity on a body of Laws, to which, on account of the effects they produced in the Chriſtian World, we may apply the words of the Prophet, *Almighty God has ſent forth his Spirit, and wrought a ſecond creation, by renewing the face of the Earth.*"

I SHOULD, however, be wanting to that candour, from which no conſideration can diſpenſe a Writer, was I to diſſemble that ſome of the Deliberations were accompanied with thoſe intrigues and paſſions, which are the attendants at the boards of other Councils. The hiſtory of Mankind has ever informed us, that where there are Men, there will be weakneſſes inſeparable from humanity. The meetings of the beſt and greateſt Perſonages, in the happieſt ages, have not always been exempt from them; they found entrance into that Synod, which the Son of God had formed by his own inſtruction and example. But though ſeveral of theſe effects were viſible in various Incidents of the Council, they were ſucceeded by unanimity in all doctrinal points, and whatever concerned a reformation of manners; and are an illuſtrious evidence that the buſineſs there carried on was conducted by a ſuperior order, to whoſe accompliſhment thoſe very meaſures concur, which ſeem calculated to weaken or ſubvert it.

As the beginning of the Century in which the Council was convened, was one of the unhappy Epochs of Chriſtianity, the viſible change of manners which was the conſequence of it let all *Europe* ſee an attention of Providence over the Catholic Church, equal to what any other Period of that Eſtabliſhment had ever experienced; and though the deſtroying Angel was permitted to give her a dreadful aſſault, he was not ſuffered

to

to prevail againſt her.—I muſt be allowed to exemplify this aſſertion from what happened in our own Country, where, amidſt defection and confuſion, our Catholic Anceſtors, through the temper of their Rulers, who were ſtrangers to the equity and moderation of the times, in which we, their Poſterity, have the happineſs to live, ſaw the exerciſe of thoſe heroic virtues neceſſary, which graced the early days of Chriſtianity: and this National Church, which had few Martyrs in its infancy, had the glory to have many when ſhe was on the point of expiring. A Work eſteemed for its accuracy, and which ends with the year 1588, that is, before the heat of *Elizabeth*'s perſecutions, enumerates above 1200 perſons, who ſuffered for their Religion, either in their lives or fortunes, and puts down their names; amongſt whom are eighteen Peers of the Realm, above four hundred lay perſons of diſtinction, of both ſexes, and five hundred and thirty Prieſts. The treaſon which has been imputed to ſome of them, is ſufficiently refuted by their proteſtation at the Scaffold of their inviolable fidelity to the Queen, whom they acknowledged for their rightful Sovereign, and prayed for her, by whoſe orders they were executed *.—All Kingdoms, and States in communion with the See of *Rome*, each Province almoſt in theſe different Sovereignties, were witneſſes of the ſurprizing change which the Regulations of the Council wrought; and that the Clergy in particular, were regular and edifying in proportion as the Biſhops were careful to introduce the practice of them.—The Seminaries, and other Eſtabliſhments, either erected or reformed, by the plan there laid down, greatly contributed to

* Concertatio fidei catholicæ in *Angliâ*, *Auguſtæ Trevirorum*, excudebat *Hericus Bock*, anno 1588, cum gratia et privilegio. It is a large quarto.

theſe

theſe deſirable purpoſes; and ſeveral Provincial Councils recalled in ſome part, at leaſt, the ancient diſcipline, and either ſtopped the growth of error, or prevented its birth.—The Monaſteries of St. *Thereſa*, in the midſt of populous Cities, ſet an example of abſtraction and retirement from the World, which may vie with the Deſerts of *Thebais*, inhabited by the Anchorites.—*America* was enlightened by the labours and miracles of St. *Lewis Betrand*; and St. *Francis Xavier* ſhewed the ſpirit and wonders of an Apoſtle in the Eaſt Indies.—The See of *Rome* ſaw Succeſſors worthy the Prince of the Apoſtles; *Adrian* V. *Marcellus* II. and *Gregory* XIII. may be ranked with the beſt of Popes; as *Sixtus* V. among the Greateſt.

I SHALL conclude what I had to ſay on the Council of *Trent* and its immediate conſequences, by a teſtimony, which I preſume, will be above all exception, as coming from one whom the Engliſh ſuppoſe very well acquainted with the merits of the cauſe; whom, nobody imagines to be prejudiced in favour of it, and every body acknowledges, where he is not byaſſed by prevention, to be a very polite and judicious Writer. " As to what regards Diſcipline, ſays this Author, it is certain that ſeveral excellent regulations were made, according to the ancient ſpirit of the Church; and a remedy applied to ſeveral pernicious abuſes which prevailed before with impunity." And a little below, " All theſe diſorders, ſays he, have not been reformed by the Council, but, if we ſet aſide prejudice, we may with truth acknowledge they are infinitely leſs than they were before *.

* *Courrayer*, Pref. a l'Hiſt. du Conc. de *Trente*.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

The CARDINAL, *on the Death of* Henry VIII. *addreſſes an Apology for himſelf to* Edward VI.

Declines the Papacy, vacated by the death of Paul III.

And retires from public Life, till the acceſſion of Queen Mary.

WHILST CARDINAL POLE was exerting himſelf at *Trent*, in the public cauſe of Chriſtianity, and advancing in the career of true worth and glory, *Henry* VIII. had finiſhed a life, the courſe of which was marked out by quite different characters from that of his Kinſman. I have already followed him through the various Scenes of guilt which diverſified the ſeveral periods of it, after he left the laudable path, in which he firſt ſet out; and made ſuch reflections on them as they naturally raiſe in a breaſt which is not a ſtranger to the feelings of juſtice, humanity, and religion. The laſt deed of plunder and ſacrilege which diſgraces theſe Annals, was the ſeizure of what he had ſpared at the diſſolution of the Abbeys, and put an end to further rapine, which he ſtill meditated. A Speech he made to the Parliament, a little before his death, ſets forth, in a very ſignificant manner, the diſpoſitions in which he was about to leave the Nation, and the effects which the changes in Religion, of which he was the Author, already had on the temper, the manners, and principles of the Engliſh. The general air of the diſcourſe, and the occaſion on which he ſpoke it, ſufficiently indicate that he was in high good humour with both Houſes, and therefore give greater weight to his complaints,

complaints, and to the reality of thoſe Evils which cauſed him to make them. I ſhall preſent the Reader with a ſummary of the Speech, it being like the confeſſion of a dying Malefactor, who throws on his Aſſociates the whole blame of crimes which were perpetrated at his inſtigation, and by his example.

HAVING enlarged, in a very ridiculous and aukward manner, on the mutual love which ſubſiſted between Him and his Parliament, " he thanks them for the ſurrender they had lately made him of the Chantries, Hoſpitals, and other ſuch Foundations; and aſſures them, the revenues ariſing from theſe Eſtabliſhments, ſhall be employed in a much more godly manner than they were aware of.—He then tells them, that concord had ceaſed amongſt them, and diſſention every where bore rule.—That the Clergy preached one againſt another, taught contrary doctrines, and inveighed againſt each other with as little charity as diſcretion.—That the whole Nation was at variance, through the obſtinacy of ſome, and the curioſity of others.—That few or none publiſhed the word of God with truth and ſincerity.—That, unleſs they mended theſe Crimes, by ſound doctrine and good living, *he whom God had appointed his Vicar and high Miniſter, would ſee they did.*"—Having addreſſed this part of his Speech to the Biſhops and the chief of the Clergy, he deſcribes the lay Peers and the Commons in not more favourable colours: " that they railed at Biſhops, ſlandered Prieſts, and mocked the Preachers of the Goſpel; whereas, ſays he, if they had juſt reaſon to find fault with ſpiritual perſons, they ought to have recourſe to him, who had an authority derived from God to reform all ſuch abuſes; and being themſelves by no means qualified to judge of ſuch matters, they were not to take up with their own fantaſtical opinions.—That the Scriptures were diſputed,

diſputed, rhymed, ſung, and jangled in every Alehouſe; and thoſe, who read them with more reſpect, were ſtill very faint and remiſs in the practice of their doctrine.—That he was ſure, virtue and good living was never leſs practiſed, nor God himſelf leſs reverenced, honoured, or ſerved*."

But allowing that Wicked Princes have ſometimes been the inſtruments of great good: no ſingle inſtance can be produced where the Supreme Being, when he was about to reveal to men any important truth, which had been unknown in all paſt ages, or to reclaim them from any exemplary degeneracy, has ever choſe ſo ſcandalous a King, as *Henry* VIII. or ſuch ſervile and corrupt miniſters, both in Church and State, as that Prince made uſe of.

About the time of the Speech I have related, and the ſeizure of the remaining Church Endowments, a continual courſe of intemperance had brought on *Henry* ſuch a groſs and unwholeſome habit of body, that it obliged him to be hoiſted up to the upper apartments of his Palace by pullies. His effigy, where he ſpreads and ſwells in puffed unweildineſs, ſeems no leſs a reſemblance of his mind than body. His temper grew froward in proportion as his ſtrength and ſpirits waſted; and what *Tacitus* ſays of the diſſimulation of *Tiberius*, when that Prince was in the like ſituation, may be applied to *Henry*'s cruelty, *that it ſtuck to him when every thing elſe failed.* His Queen, *Catharine Par*, diſſenting from him in in ſome religious tenets, nothing but great art ſaved her from the ſcaffold, where two of the former Partners of his bed had ended their lives. The erroneouſneſs of her opinions, however had not drawn on her this capital diſpleaſure, but, *becauſe he diſliked to be*

* Lord *Herbert*, page 534.

contra-

contradicted in his old age by his Wife. * His Royal Consorts seem, indeed, to have been, at all times, marked out for this sportive cruelty and inconstancy. He had made it high treason for any Woman, who was so unhappy as to be his choice, not to declare her own incontinence, if she had been guilty of any, before he married her.— Though he repudiated Queen *Catharine* and *Anne* of *Cleves*, on pretext of their being pre-contracted; and compelled the offspring of the first to subscribe to her own illegitimacy; yet, when he had changed his mind, and was about to substitute that Princess, next to *Edward* VI. in the Act of Succession, he made it felony to assert, that a prior contract invalidated a subsequent marriage with another person. All which a slavish Parliament passed into Law, and the Statutes still disgrace our Records.

As the poison of venomous animals is most collected in their dying bites, the Earl of *Surry*, Son to the Duke of *Norfolk*, as gallant and accomplished a youth as that or any other age has seen, fell a victim to these last dregs of a distempered
19th *Jan.* mind and body: and the Duke his Father was
1547. condemed to lose his head by the same axe which had struck off that of his Son. He was attainted; the King had already seized his large possessions, and hurried on the trial on the most trivial accusations, before a profligate house of Peers, and with an indecency which creates horror. The long and signal services of this Nobleman, a perpetual condescension to all the King's inclinations, and the submissions to which he let himself down in his last distress, were unavailing pleas for mercy; and, had *Henry*'s life been respited one

* Lord *Herbert*, pag. 560.

night

night longer, the Duke was to have been beheaded on the following morning.* He died *Jan.* 28, 1547.

I SHALL conclude what I had to ſay of this Prince, by a fact, in which his want of good Faith is as odious, as any inſtance of his bloodſhed and violence. It is thus related by CARDINAL POLE, and gives a ſtriking Idea of that compleat worthleſneſs, of which *Henry* choſe his diſpoſitions ſhould be the pattern.

" IN his worſt and moſt unjuſtifiable Actions he never failed to allege the motive of conſcience and religion; in which he did no more than *Machiavel* preſcribes, and he had learnt from his Diſciple, *Cromwel:* but in the following exigency he departed ſomewhat from this capital leſſon.— There were ſome perſons of conſideration, who lived at their country ſeats without appearing at Court, and who were obnoxious to him on account of their Virtue. He was deſirous to have them in his power, which was no eaſy matter, as they, in their turn, were no leſs on their guard againſt him, and therefore when he ſummoned them, they refuſed to come, unleſs he engaged his Royal word for their ſafety. When he underſtood this, he ordered the aſſurance they deſired to be ſent them under his Sign manual: ſhewed them a friendly countenance at their arrival; and, when they looked on themſelves as ſecure from any danger, ordered them to be taken up.— Hitherto, ſays the CARDINAL, he had done nothing contrary to his Preceptor's inſtructions: on the contrary, this proceeding reſults from them; for he lays it down among the chief advantages of Religion, that it is the readieſt ſnare by which thoſe we fear may be taken off. But, in what follows, he ſwerved from his Maſter's art. For now having the perſons at his diſpoſal, and reſolved

* Lord *Herbert*, pag. 561, &c. and others.

their deſtruction, he ſpoke of his deſign publicly; and one who was preſent, having the honeſty to reply, that this could not be done, as they were come up on the aſſurance he had given them of ſafety, he ſeemed to wonder at his ſimplicity, for imagining that any engagement ſhould hinder him from killing thoſe he ſuſpected: adding, moreover, that he had engaged his word for that very purpoſe, becauſe, otherwiſe, they would have kept out of his reach. And what, ſays he, ſhould hinder me, now I have them in my power, and miſtruſt their loyalty, to uſe the right I have over them?—this Anſwer, adds the Cardinal, was remarked by many." *

THUS having lived by no other rule than his own unbridled luſts, and *being come* (as the Wiſeſt of men has obſerved) *by a certain progreſſion of evil, into the depth of it, he laughed at all reſtraint, both human and divine.* † It is not eaſy to affirm, as Lord *Herbert* obſerves, in what ſentiments he died with reſpect to Religion. It is affirmed by *Sanders*, that he was deſirous to be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*; and *it was reported*, alſo, that being given over by his Phyſicians, and none of his Servants daring to be the bearer of ſuch diſagreeable news, at length Sir *Anthony Denny* informed him of his condition; which he heard with leſs choler than was expected, and ordered Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, who was at *Croydon*, to be ſent for: that, on his arrival he found the King ſpeechleſs; but aſking him to give ſome token of his belief, that ſalvation was to be obtained through faith in *Chriſt*, he gently ſqueezed his hand and expired. ‡ *Sanders*, a Co-

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 1a. pag. 145.

† Eſt progreſſio in via iniquitatis viro indiſciplinato.—Impius, cùm in profundum venerit peccatorum, contemnit. *Prov.* cap. xviii. v. 3. ed. vul.

‡ Lord *Hirbert's* Life of *Henry* VIII. pag. 570.

temporary

temporary Author relates, that, during his laſt illneſs, he received the Euchariſt with every ſignification of the moſt profound reverence: but that, his end approaching, he called for a large draught of white wine, and, turning to the perſon who preſented it, ſaid, *all was loſt*, and having drank off the goblet, gave up the ghoſt. * And as no Writer, except CARDINAL POLE, has ſaid ſo much to this Prince's advantage as the above mentioned, what he here relates can be as little ſuſpected of ſlander, as other particulars in his commendation, of flattery. In his laſt moments he was overheard to mutter often the word, *Monk*: the natural reſult of a mind labouring with guilt, and haunted by thoſe Spectres, which the wrongs he had done to that Body of men, raiſed. —Some time before his death, he cauſed the Church of the *Franciſcans*, in *London*, which had been ſhut up, to be opened; ſuppreſſed the Stews on the Bank ſide, and made two or three other diſpoſitions, which have an equivocal reſemblance of goodneſs, and of a ſenſe of Religion: but it was too late to teſtify a concern for preſerving ſome of the Planks, when the guilty and unſkilful Pilot had run the Veſſel on thoſe Rocks, which tore away the Rudder, and disjointed the whole Frame.

See his treatiſe de Schiſm. Anglica. fol. 102. a tergo edit. *Col. Agrip.* 1585.

As ſoon as the news of this great event reached the Engliſh CARDINAL, he turned his whole mind to avail himſelf of it in order to repair the breaches which *Henry* had made in the faith and diſcipline of the Church, and bring back his Country to that Unity, which he had violated. At this time, his cares were divided, as has been ſaid, between *Rome*, where he was at the head

* De Schiſmate Anglicano, folio 102, &c.

of the Pope's Council, and his Government of *Viterbo*. The firft ftep he took in order to bring about the defign he meditated, was to write to *Paul* III. "That he, the Pope, had now an opportunity anfwerable to the greatnefs of his own foul, and to the exigencies of the times, of procuring to himfelf immortal glory, and doing a fervice to the Chriftian world, than which no greater could be imagined.—He tells him, that although the principal part of this undertaking was to be the effect of his own prudence and refolution, yet a great deal might be effected by the Emperor; and, therefore, it was of great importance that a perfon fhould be fent to that Prince, who was agreeable to him, and qualified for fuch a negotiation.—That he knew no one fo fit as the Cardinal of *Trent*, both with refpect to the Englifh affairs, as to many other concerns of moment, which were foon to be treated between his Holinefs and the Imperial Court, and therefore, his earneft requeft was, that this Prelate might be one of the Legates who were to be fent thither. —That he wrote thefe few lines in hafte, not to let flip the firft opportunity of opening his mind to the Pope, but that he would fhortly explain himfelf more amply *."

He begins the following letter, "by reprefenting again the great weight of the Emperor in bringing the affairs of *England* to a happy Iffue: but that this influence could never be exerted to the purpofe, unlefs there was a good underftanding between that Prince and his Holinefs. That in order to procure fuch a reconciliation, much would depend on the character of him, who was employed in the Embaffy: that he fhould be a perfon of prudence and experience, of whofe attachment the emperor could have no mifgivings,

* Epift. *R. Poli*, pars 4a, pag. 38.

and

and of whose counsels and good offices he had already made trial.—That, sagacity and discernment would be requisite to make an estimate of those who had the Emperor's confidence, and to render himself acceptable to them.—That, if it was a difficult matter to meet with all these qualifications in the same person, he much desired the Cardinal of *Trent*, of whose disinterestedness and abilities there were such proofs, might be one of the Embassy.—That if there was any reason, of which he was ignorant, for not employing him in this affair, it might be convenient to send him beforehand; but this was to be done in such manner, as this prelate might not look on himself as slighted; and he must be given to understand, that a condescension for the French Court was the motive of the embassy not being conferred on himself: and that many plausible reasons might be assigned for this circumspection. You are acquainted, Holy Father, continues the CAREINAL, with the temper of *Madrucius*: he never thinks he has done any thing, in whatever he undertakes, till he has brought it to a conclusion. You know his readiness to second your intentions, and his zeal for the public service: and you are sensible of what moment such dispositions are. Several are of opinion, that the misunderstanding which subsists between your Holiness and the Emperor, is owing to the officiousness of certain persons, who, that they may appear to have at heart the respective interests of their Masters, and forfeit no part of their favour, are little solicitous about the common Welfare, and have alienated those, who, otherwise, would have been of great use *."

ABOUT the same time, he wrote to the Privy Council of *England*. The letter is in Latin, ac-

* Epist. *R. Poli,* pars 4a. pag. 39.

cording to the uſage of thoſe times, and to the following effect.—" Although, my Lords, when I heard of the late King's death, yet, as different rumours were ſpread abroad, I was neither informed to whom the Crown was devolved, or of any thing of the ſtate of the Kingdom; I knew, however, that nothing could be reſolved concerning the affairs of the Nation, but by the high Court of Parliament, which is accuſtomed to be called immediately on the acceſſion, in order to ſwear allegiance to the Succeſſor, to provide for the ſafety of the Kingdom, and hear thoſe, who may think themſelves wronged. On this account, ſome things have occurred to me, of ſuch moment, that unleſs they are weighed by your Lordſhips with great deliberation, and decided with an equal rectitude and regard to Religion, the whole Realm may be brought into imminent danger. I ſeized, therefore, the firſt opportunity of opening my mind to your Lordſhips, and, not to be wanting in any thing, on my part, have ſent this letter by a Perſon, who might further communicate to you what I judge may be of uſe in the preſent juncture. As to the wrongs I, and thoſe who belong to me, have ſuſtained in the late reign, and which have reduced one of the firſt and moſt flouriſhing families in the Kingdom to almoſt total ruin; the natural affection I bear to perſons ſo nearly related to me does not, indeed, permit me to be indifferent about their welfare, and neglect this opportunity, which your preſent meeting affords, of laying their caſe before your Lordſhips. I muſt ſay the ſame of many others, who, being reduced to the ſame ſtreights, in their adverſe fortune had recourſe to me. Yet, my Lords, I ſhall aſk nothing, either at this or any other time, but what is conſiſtent with the public tranquillity; and the ſafety of thoſe whom divine Providence ſhall place at the head of the

govern-

government. It is my deſire, my Lords, it has ever been ſo, that public emolument ſhould take place of all private conſiderations: and this principle is more neceſſary at this juncture, than it has yet been; for unleſs we ſtrengthen the common weal, the care of our own fortunes will be to little purpoſe. In theſe troubleſome and difficult circumſtances, I acknowledge the watchful goodneſs of an All-powerful God over us, in giving to his People, in this time of need, a Pontiff, who, to ſay nothing more, bears my Country the affection of a Father; and, on many accounts, is as able, as willing to be uſeful to her; and as an inſtance of theſe diſpoſitions, propoſes to ſend me to you, that I may not only ſuggeſt ſalutary meaſures, but bring with me means ſuited to the removal of our Evils, provided they are accepted with the ſame diſpoſitions with which they are offered *."—It will ceaſe to ſeem ſtrange to the Reader, that the CARDINAL ſhould write in this manner to the Privy Council, when he reflects, that the Houſe of Lords not only wrote to him a common letter, on his being about to publiſh the work he had inſcribed to *Henry*, but each one of them ſigned it.—This Letter, as we learn from the CARDINAL, had no effect: the Members of the Privy Council refuſed to receive either the Meſſage, or Him who brought it.

EDWARD had ſcarce filled the throne, when ſeveral Acts againſt different tenets of the ancient Belief were preparing to be brought into the Houſe: and the Emperor, who had notice of it, ſignified his reſentment to the Engliſh Embaſſador in very high terms. The Acts were not paſſed ſo ſoon as was imagined; and the CARDINAL, who ſeems to think this delay owing to that Prince's authority, and that he had been wrought

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4a. pag. 42.

on to behave in this manner by his Confeſſor, *Dominic Soto* *, wrote to him, "that the information he had received of what had paſſed between the Emperor and the Engliſh Embaſſador, had encouraged him to ſend two of his houſhold, with letters and inſtructions for the Court of England; and had ordered them to take the Emperor's Court in their way, and confer with him (*Soto*) on the buſineſs they were charged with: and exhorts him to take every favourable opportunity of cheriſhing the laudable diſpoſitions the Emperor was in, with reſpect to the concerns of his Country. At the ſame time he informs him, that he had already attempted to open a correſpondence with *England* but to no purpoſe; and
Romæ, 8. though, ſome days ago, an Incident had fallen out
Id. *April*, that determined him to make a ſecond effort, it
1547. was with little hopes of ſucceſs †."

The diſapointment which attended the Cardinal's late endeavours, and thoſe he was now making, did not hinder him, ſome time after, from another undertaking, which though equally unſucceſsful, as to the purpoſe for which it was intended, has anſwered another, that of tranſmitting to Poſterity, one of the moſt entertaining and inſtructive pieces, that genuine eloquence, and goodneſs of heart, ever produced. This is a treatiſe inſcribed to *Edward* VI. through the whole of which he addreſſes himſelf to that young Prince,

* *Soto* was, as himſelf informs us, a Gardiner's ſon: and having finiſhed his ſtudies, became a *Dominican*. He appear'd with great applauſe at the Council of *Trent*, where his good qualities recommended him to the notice of the Engliſh Legate. *Charles* V. made choice of him for his Confeſſor, employed him in ſeveral important affairs, and would have promoted him to the Biſhoprick of *Segovia*; but he refuſed that dignity. He was generally eſteemed for his piety, prudence, and learning; and his Writings ſtill ſhew in what an eminent degree he poſſeſſed the latter advantage.

† Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4a. pag. 44.

Prince, and makes an Apology for his own conduct during his Father's reign. The temper and moderation of a Speaker pleading for himſelf is every where kept up: and there is a reach of thought, a chain of reaſoning, and an air of unaffected integrity not only diffuſed over the whole in general, but ſtamped on every diviſion of it. The Noble Writer's high birth, the great inſight he had in the art of government, give a dignity and weight to the obſervations he makes, not only on thoſe who direct the councils of Sovereigns, but on their own ſacred Perſons, whom he always conſiders as under the ſtricteſt obligation of attending to the duties of their Station, as expoſed to the eyes of the public, and as accountable, ſome time or other, to a Tribunal more awful than their own. A Copy of this valuable Piece, and, perhaps, the only one extant *, which had formerly been in the poſſeſſion of Cardinal *Hoſius*, the Author's intimate friend, was publiſhed ſome years ago, by one of the Academy of *Leipſic*, 1737.
with that good faith which ſhould always attend ſuperior learning. It has, likewiſe, been inſerted *Schelhorn,* Amœnitates Litterariæ, t. 1.
by Cardinal *Quirini*, to whom the German Profeſſor ſent the original, a preſent, in the Collection of CARDINAL POLE's letters; and I have had Tom. 4.
occaſion, in the courſe of this Work, to relate ſome facts from it, and have referred the Reader to the paſſages.

* Though this treatiſe was wrote with a view to be prefixed to the CARDINAL's Work *on the Church's Unity*; yet it is neither in the Roman edition of that Work, printed without date; nor in that of *Straſbourg*, printed with the notes of *Vigerius*, in 1555; nor in that of *Ingolſtadt*, of 1587; nor in the great Work of the Pontifical Library, publiſhed by *Rocchaberti*, in 1698, though the Compiler, in his preface, mentions it amongſt CARDINAL POLE's works: nor, as Cardinal *Quirini* informs us, in any of the Manuſcript Copies.

IT

It is probable this fine Remonstrance was never permitted to reach the Prince, to whom it was addressed. He was surrounded by persons, who were the declared enemies of all such sentiments; and they had taken care to instill into him their own, both with respect to the principles on which this discourse proceeded, and to every thing which had any relation to it. He was of a tender and unpromising constitution, but had very acute parts, and was a proficient in the branches of learning he had been made acquainted with, much above his years. Those, to whom his education was intrusted, had made use of this aptitude, to train him up to prejudices, by which young minds are made to conceive an aversion to Truth, before they are informed what it is. The very subject of the exercises, by which they formed his style, were misrepresentations of some Article or other of the Catholic Religion. He was never allowed to see it in its real appearance, but had a Spectre constantly placed before him in its stead. In virtue of the Supremacy, to which he had succeeded, the Bishops were informed, "that all Jurisdiction, ecclesiastical and civil, flowed from him, as from the supreme Head of the whole Body; and that he granted them full power, which was to continue during his pleasure, to exercise their sacred functions, and confer holy orders." And they took out their commissions according to the tenour of his Royal Mandate *. The leading part of the Ministry were bent on subverting every measure the CARDINAL had recommended to the young King; and on the establishment of those tenets, whose pernicious consequences he had so much insisted on: in a word, abolishing the ancient Religion.

* *Collier's* Church History, part 2, Book 3, page 169.

THIS will appear from what was practiſed with reſpect to the holy Euchariſt: on which I ſhall be ſomething particular, becauſe from hence a conjecture may be formed of the treatment which Rites of a leſs ſacred nature met with. In order to diſpoſe the minds of men to theſe changes, Preachers were ſent about the Kingdom, to diſſuade the People from aſſiſting at Maſs: from the invocation of Saints, veneration of their Images; from praying for the Dead, Proceſſions, and ſeveral other Articles concerning the Sacraments and pious Uſages, which all antiquity had received with reverence, and practiſed with profit. Soon after, the Altars were taken down, *to withdraw the people from the opinion of the Maſs;* and a contention aroſe, not only about the ſhape and name of what was to be ſet up in its room, whether it was to be the *Lord's table*, or *board*; but alſo, concerning the ſituation. It was, firſt, placed, at the upper end of the Church, where the high Altar had ſtood; and, then, advanced forwards, that there might be a paſſage between the Table and the wall. It was now placed to the Eaſt; now, to the Weſt; now, to the other two points: the Miniſters not agreeing which way to turn their faces. The ſacred Veſtments, and decent habit of the Clergy were decryed; and the uſe introduced of receiving the Sacrament ſitting; and an Eye-witneſs informs us, that he had ſeen a Curate leave the pulpit, and preach to the People from an Elm-tree in the Church-yard: and then return to the Church, and leave the high Altar to ſing the Communion ſervice on a tomb, with his face to the North. This profane licentiouſneſs gave ſuch offence, in the firſt year of *Edward*'s reign, that it was judged neceſſary to have an Act of parliament paſſed, "againſt ſuch as ſpoke againſt the Sacrament of the Altar." Impiety

Dr. *Burnet.*

J. Stow.

piety went ſtill greater lengths, (it is with reluctance that I repeat ſuch horrors) and men affirmed, that this memorial and pledge of our Ranſom was of little worth; and in many places it was uſed with the greateſt indignities, thrown out of the Churches, and other enormities committed.

Regiſter-book of the Pariſh of *Petworth.*

THOUGH the full Harveſt of Sacrilege had been reaped in the former reign, yet the Images of the Saints, and the Shrines which contained their ſacred remains, the plate, jewels, and other coſtly ornaments, afforded large gleanings, and were, the ſame year by the Kings order, ſeized, and the ſpoil divided amongſt thoſe who adviſed the ſacrilege, or under whoſe authority it was perpetrated. Soon after, an order of the King and privy Council forbade Aſhes to be received at the beginning of Lent, and Candles and Palms to be carried on the days that bear thoſe names: and the Lords paſſed an Act, by which they inforced the King's former injunction, for taking down all Images, which either had not been removed, or were replaced as ſoon as the firſt heat of the Royal Viſitation was over.

BUT that the Reader may view, in one ſingle Group, all the different images of which Rapine can be compoſed, I ſhall preſent him with a Picture of impious Greatneſs, which imagines it may attempt any thing, becauſe it can do ſo with impunity. That ſtately fabric, which ſtill bears the name of him who raiſed it, was built by the Duke of *Somerſet*, on the ruins of the Deanry and Cloſe of *Weſtminſter*, of the Pariſh Church of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, and of three Epiſcopal houſes. The Cloyſters of St. *Paul*'s were likewiſe taken down, and the materials appropriated to the ſame uſe; as were thoſe of *Barking* Chapel, near the Tower. The Pariſh Church of St. *Ewen*, within Newgate; the College Church of St. *Martin le Grand*, near the ſhambles, and the Pariſh Church of St. *Nicholas*,

in the ſame neighbourhood, were entirely pulled down. St. *Margaret's*, *Weſtminſter*, was doomed to the like deſtruction, and for the ſame purpoſe; but the Workmen had no ſooned advanced the Scaffolds, when the Pariſhioners aſſaulted them with ſuch fury, with ſtaves, clubs, and arrows, that they ran away terrified, and could never be prevailed on to return to a ſecond attempt. And this pile of Sacrilege was reared in the very year that *England* was afflicted with a peſtilence, which ſwept away thouſands. I have entered on this detail, becauſe I ſuppoſe the whole Records of Chriſtianity do not furniſh another ſuch Example.

As the Itch of novelty ſpread wider, a Curate advanced, that the names of Churches and of the days of the Week, ſhould be changed. Others taught, that abſtinence from fleſh ſhould be kept on any days but Friday and Saturday; and Lent, at any other time than between Shrovetide and Eaſter. A Preacher, at St. *Paul's* Croſs, informed his Audience, that Lent was a political ordinance, and might be ſet aſide at pleaſure. This was followed by crying down all diſtinctions of days and times, and libelling that ancient and religious Faſt in the moſt ſcandalous Rhymes: however, on Biſhop *Gardiner's* complaint, a Proclamation came forth, which enjoined the obſervance of Lent, and the King's Lenten Diet was ſerved up as formerly. It is remarkable, that theſe innovations were no leſs repugnant to the ſix Articles which the late King had made the Standard of Orthodoxy, and enforced by the ſevereſt penalties, than to the Doctrine of the Catholic Church: theſe, therefore, were repealed, and the tenets of *Zuinglius*, ſo much deteſted by that Prince, began to gain the aſcendant.

THE ſpirit of religious giddineſs having now taken poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, gave riſe to a great variety of Sects, which agreed as little among

themſelves,

themſelves, as with the Church whoſe communion they had left. The Goſpellers began to appear, who aſſerted the blaſphemous doctrine of *Calvin*, that God is the author of ſin. The Anabaptiſts publiſhed their dotages, and Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, when he examined ſome of them, who were about to renounce their errors, took his ſeat on an Altar of the Bleſſed Virgin in St. *Paul*'s Church.

THESE various modes of Doctrine were not the growth of our Country only, but ſeveral Foreigners, who had ſignalized themſelves the ſame way, were invited over by the Protector, who was an avowed favourer of the *Zuinglian* tenets, and kept up a correſpondence with *Calvin:* and by the Primate, who being eager, at all events, to have the ancient Religion entirely aboliſhed, was indifferant as to to the opinions which were ſet up in its place. *Peter Martyr* and *Ochin* were particularly employed to compile a Liturgy: they were both Monks, who had deſerted their profeſſion and entered on a marriage ſtate, which, though *honourable in All*, who are free to embrace it, cannot but be greatly diſhonoured by thoſe who have vowed engagements with which it is incompatible. *Martyr* was a profeſſed *Zuinglian*; and *Ochin* became, afterwards, a declared enemy of the divinity of JESUS CHRIST. *John Alaſco* came over, about the ſame time, with a colony from *Poland*, and beſides the errors of *Zuinglius*, and other frenzies of his own, found out twelve different meanings of the words of the Inſtitution of the Euchariſt; and rejected baptiſm, which, he ſaid, was become an Idolatry.

I HAVE only related matter of fact, in which all Hiſtory is agreed; * and ſhall content myſelf with adding

* *Boſſuet*, Variat. des Egl. Prot. p. 1. *l.* 7. § 77, &c.
Dr. *Heylyn*'s Preface to the Hiſtory of the Reformat. and his Hiſt. in *Edw.* VI.
Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. 2, book 4.
Echard's Hiſtory of *England*, vol. 2, p. 311, and 312.
Burnet

adding one obſervation of the Catholics of thoſe times; † that when men depart from the authority of the Church, they loſe all Criterion of Truth and Falſhood, in matters of Religion, and muſt neceſſarily *be carried about by every Wind of Doctrine.* The minds of the Engliſh let looſe from the obligation of ſubmitting to any mode of Religion and eſtabliſhed Faith, became like the Needle, deprived of its magnetic virtue, which points indiſcriminately to all parts, and affords no direction to the bewildered Mariner.

† *White* of *Lincoln*, in his charge on Bp. *Ridely*.

Weſton, Prolocutor to the Conv. 1ſt of *Mary*.

In all theſe Revolutions the frame of the ſtate had not been leſs convulſed than that of the Church. The numerous Regency, which *Henry* had appointed

Miles Hubbard diſplay of Proteſtants.

Burnet, Hiſt. of the Reformat. vol. 3, p. 216; *Churchill*'s edit. 1715.

Camden, Introd. to the Annals of Q. *Elizabeth*, p, 5.

Mr. *Hume*, throughout *Edward* VIth's Reign.

I ſhall aſk leave to cite a paſſage of Dr. *Burnet* from the place above marked, as his authority, in this caſe, will generally be leſs objected to, than that of moſt others. "The untimely death of King *Edward* was looked on, by all people, as a juſt judgment of God, upon thoſe who pretended to love and promote a Reformation, but whoſe impious and flagitious lives were a reproach to it. The open lewdneſs, in which many lived, without ſhame or remorſe, gave great occaſion to our Adverſaries to ſay, they were in the right to aſſert Juſtification by Faith without Works, ſince they were, as to every good, reprobate. Their groſs and inſatiable ſcrambling after the goods and wealth that had been dedicated with good deſigns, tho' to ſuperſtitious uſes, without applying part of it to the promoting the Goſpel, the inſtructing the Youth, and relieving the Poor, made all People conclude, that it was for Robbery, not for Reformation, that their zeal made them ſo Active." The marginal note on this paſſage is, *A Character of the Court in Edward's time.* And in the following page, "their irregular and immoral lives gave their Enemies great advantages to ſay, they run away from Confeſſion, penance, faſting and prayers, only that they might be under no reſtraint, but indulge themſelves in a licentious and diſſolute life. . . . the people grew to look on all the changes that had been made as deſigns to enrich ſome vicious Courtiers; and to let in an inundation of vice and wickedneſs upon the Nation."

pointed during his Son's minority, was immediately ſet aſide, and the young Prince's Uncle, the Duke of *Somerſet*, inveſted with the whole power. The pretence made uſe of, was, that the dignity of Government could not be maintained, if it was dividen among many. But the diſcontents which the changes in Religion, of which he was known to be the principal Abettor; and the inſolence and rapacity, with which he exerted an almoſt ſovereign ſway, cauſed the people to riſe up in arms,
1549. at different times and in different places of the Kingdom. Theſe commotions, firſt appeared in the Counties of *Wilts*, *Oxford*, and *Glouceſter*; and, ſoon communicated themſelves to the nighbourhood of *Hampſhire*, *Suſſex*, and *Kent*: but the Inſurrections in *Cornwal*, *Devonſhire*, and *Norfolk*, threatened not only the tranquillity of thoſe Provinces, but of the whole Kingdom. The demands of the Inſurgents ſufficiently ſhew what the ſentiments of the bulk of the people ſtill were with reſpect to the ancient Worſhip; and they declared, the were ready to return to their former obedience, as ſoon as the grievances they complained of were redreſſed.

THEIR firſt demand was, that they might be allowed to have Maſs celebrated, as in ancient times, in which they believed that the very Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt was contained.

THAT Pariſh Prieſts might adminiſter Baptiſm at any time, in caſe of neceſſity.

THAT Children might be confirmed by the Biſhop.

THAT there might be holy bread and holy water, as a Memorial of Chriſt's bleſſed Body and Blood.

THAT the holy Euchariſt might be kept in Churches.

THAT Prieſts might live in Celibacy.

THAT the ſix Articles, ſet forth by the late King

King might be obſerved.—By theſe, the belief of the real preſence : Communion under one kind : the obligation of Vows of Chaſtity ; the utility of private Maſſes : the celibacy of Prieſts : the neceſſity of auricular Confeſſion, were eſtabliſhed.

THEY requeſted, that ſome Abbeys might be rebuilt, and their lands reſtored to the former Poſſeſſors.

THEY further remonſtrated ; that the free-born Community was oppreſſed by a ſmall number of Gentry who glutted themſelves with pleaſure, whilſt the poor Commons were waſted with labour, and, like Pack-horſes, lived in extreme ſlavery.

THAT holy Rites eſtabliſhed by Antiquity, were aboliſhed, and new authorized ; and a new Form of Religion obtruded, to the ſubjecting their ſouls, who conform'd to it, to pains which were not to end with death.

THAT they thought it neceſſary to have new Counſellors placed about the King, during his minority ; and thoſe removed, who ruling as they liſted, confounded things ſacred and profane ; and paid attention to nothing but enriching themſelves with the public treaſure, that they might riot in the Nation's calamities.

THAT, therefore, they deſired CARDINAL POLE's Attainder might be reverſed ; and he ſent for over, and made one of the privy Council.

As the Duke had the power of cruſhing thoſe who complained, no regard was paid to their remonſtrances ; and they were either diſperſed or beat wherever they appeared in the field. Beſides large Levies raiſed at home ; that he might have a conſiderable military force, on whoſe ſervice he could thoroughly rely, he had ſeveral Regiments of Walloons, and German Lutherans, who had been ſent for, to awe the Engliſh at that

 critical

critical juncture; and having nothing in common with the nation, were entirely at his beck, whose pay they received.

THE fall of Him, who had either been the Author, or given occasion to all these Disorders, must be placed amongst those Revolutions, which had been caused by them. This haughty Usurper of the Royal authority had left his Nephew just as much of it as was necessary to enable himself to exert it in the full extent. He had taken the title of *Duke of Somerset, by the divine permission*; was acknowledged sole Regent and Protector of the Kingdom; and had a stool placed on the Throne, which almost equalled him to his Sovereign. The manner in which he executed his vengeance on his Brother, the Admiral, laid him open to his Enemies, and has, more than any one misdeed of so exceptionable a Regency, contributed to make his memory odious.

HAVING caused Him to be attainted, and the Bill being laid before the Upper House, the accounts which some of the Peers gave of the Admiral's conduct, were received as legal evidence: and not one had the integrity to move, that he might be heard in his own defence, and confronted with his Accusers. The Commons were more scrupulous; but, on receiving a message from the King, requiring them to proceed, they acquiesced without further difficulty, and the Bill passed in a very full House: near four hundred voted for it, and not above four against it. The Protector signed the Warrant, and his Brother was exe-
March 28, cuted, soon after, on *Tower Hill*. These were the
1549. Lessons of Justice, in which he instructed his Royal Pupil. His elevation, at length, made his fall more irretrievable; and that he might exemplify in his own Person this Scripture Truth, that *Men are punished in the way they offend*, he fell

fell a victim to the intrigues of One, who if possible, was more ambitious than himself. But though any further account of this event does not belong to this Work, I cannot dismiss it, without observing, that an administration only of a few years, was long enough to make the Nation experience that *Woe*, which is denounced *against a Land, whose King is a Child, and whose Nobles are luxurious.* The Earl of *Northumberland*

In the midst of these confusions with which mad Ambition and still wilder Fanaticism shook his Country to the Centre, an incident happened which gave Cardinal Pole an opportunity of shewing a moderation of desires and greatness of soul, more extraordinary than those domestic examples of the opposite vices, which I have here related. He was now come to that time of life, 49th year. when eminence of station is wont to be the favourite Object; and few, even of the wise and good, stand in need of many arguments to persuade themselves they are qualified for the highest Posts; and to be prevailed on, if not to seek them, at least acquiesce in a choice made in their favour.

He was at the head of the Pope's Council, and Governor of *Viterbo*, when *Paul* III. dyed, and Nov. 10, 1549. the sacred College, which was at that time very numerous, met, as is usual, to choose a Successor. The Place destined for this Purpose is called the *Conclave*, from the number of Chambers which compose it; the name, which is of Latin derivation, signifying an inward or private Apartment: and though the Cardinals are at liberty to hold this Assembly where they think proper, yet, for many years, the Vatican Palace, which joins St. *Peter*'s Church, has been made use of on these occasions. The majesty and security of the place, the ease with which it is guarded; the conveniency of water; the Courts, Galleries and num-

ber of ſtately Rooms with which it abounds, making it more ſuitable than any other building. The Place for the Conclave is choſen in ſome convenient part of this ſpacious edifice, and divided into different Lodgments, which are run up ſlightly with deal boards, and hung with ſerge, for the Cardinals and their Attendants; and the rooms being ſmall, are called *Cells*. Theſe are fitted up within the nine days of the obſequies of the deceaſed Pope, and are drawn by lot; and the Atchievements of each Cardinal placed over the door of that which falls to him. On the tenth day after the Pope's death, the ſacred College having aſſiſted at a ſolemn Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, go in proceſſion to the Conclave, where they remain ſhut up till they have choſen a Succeſſor. The election is made in the following manner. Each Cardinal writes his name in a fold of paper, which he cloſes with a ſeal engraved for that purpoſe. On a ſecond fold is the name of him to whom he gives his vote, written by the Aſſiſtant, which every one has with him; but is not ſealed: this again is incloſed in a third folding, on the back of which the Cardinal's motto or deviſe is written, in the manner of a ſuperſcription to a letter. The Cardinals meet twice a week for the ſcrutiny, and two of them are deputed to open the outward folds of each billet, and read aloud the names of thoſe for whom the votes are given, and regiſter the number given to each. The third fold, which encloſes the elector's name, is not broke open till the election is over, and is then opened, that the Pope may know who voted in his favour. This Scrutiny is performed till two thirds of the Votes concur in the choice of the ſame perſon.

If this method does not ſucceed, they have recourſe to another, in which they make a trial to bring two thirds of the votes to that Cardinal,

who

who had the greateſt number in the former ſcrutinies: and if this ſecond method likewiſe be unſucceſsful, they have recourſe to a third, which is called *Acclamation*, and is performed by ſome of the leading Cardinals making an open declaration for a Candidate, who they are deſirous ſhould be choſen and in whom they think the others will unite.

As the Pontificate of *Paul* III. had been long, there had been many vacancies in the ſacred College, and it was his peculiar praiſe, as I have ſhewn elſewhere, from the Satyriſt *Aretine*, to fill them with perſons of diſtinguiſhed merit. Cardinal *Alexander Borgheſe* had, at this time, the greateſt intereſt in that Body, in which there were ſo many who had been honoured with the Purple by the late Pope, of whoſe family that young Prince was; and being deſirous to have a Perſon advanced to the Papacy, whoſe probity and abilities might ſuit the preſent exigences of the Church, and on whoſe friendſhip he could rely, no one ſeemed ſo proper as the Engliſh CARDINAL. The propoſal was received with approbation by many, eſpecially of thoſe who were in the Emperor's intereſt, and who were well acquainted with the place he held in that Prince's eſteem. Thoſe, on the contrary, who were of the French party, endeavoured to give him the excluſion, from an apprehenſion of his being too much ſwayed by the influence of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. They interpoſed, therefore, the French King's authority, and offered their Votes to ſome other Cardinals whom they knew to aim at the Papacy; yet ſtill the number of thoſe, who ſeconded *Farneſe*'s motion, was ſuperior.

15 *years.*

Hen. II.

BUT I cannot give the reader ſo juſt a notion of this tranſaction, and of the CARDINAL's behaviour and ſentiments of the whole affair, as in his own words, after the election was over, in a letter

to the Biſhop of *Navara*, to whom he ſeems both on this and other occaſions, to have opened himſelf without reſerve. " The proſpect, ſays he, of the Papacy, was offered me by the leading perſon in the Conclave, whoſe authority, and the general eſteem he was held in, ſwayed the major part of the Electors. He told me, his motive in this determination, was the opinion he had of me; and that all his intereſt, favour, and induſtry ſhould be employed in my ſervice. It was natural, that on ſuch a propoſal, I ſhould feel the firſt motions of joy, which the ſenſe of honour is apt to betray, and which are ſo involuntary, that it is not eaſy to ſuppreſs them. And yet, God is my witneſs, I was no more affected, than if I had been one of thoſe animals, who don't covet honours, becauſe they have no perception of them. I remained therefore, ſilent, and ſeemed deſirous to break off the conference, and to retire; which *Farneſe* perceiving, that he might give me a plauſible pretext of leaving him, told me, he did not inſiſt on an immediate anſwer, and only deſired, I would take time to conſult myſelf *."

THE Conclave laſted two months, during all which time neither he nor any who belonged to him were known to take one ſtep which might advance his promotion; or that he was in the leaſt affected by all that agitation, which the circumſtances he was in, gave to others. He preſerved the uſual eaſe and chearfulneſs of his behaviour,

* Hæc autem ſpes cùm mihi proponeretur ab ampliſſimo noſtri Ordinis Viro, et eo quidem, cujus authoritatem et gratiam maxima ſuffragiorum pars ſequebatur; cùmque idem, propter judicium quod ſe de me feciſſe dicebat, omne ſtudium, omnem operam, gratiam et authoritatem, cumulatiſſimè deferret --- prorſus tacui. Ille verò cùm me videret ſilere, et abituri ſpeciem præ me ferre, ut honeſtius, credo, dimitteret, dixit: Se tunc à me reſponſum non expectare, rogare tantùm ut ſpatium ad reſpondendum ſumerem, &c. Epiſt. *R. Poli*, t. 4. p. 57. Epiſt. ad Epiſc. *Pac.*

viour, and when any of the Cardinals told him, as many did, that they would make him Pope, his anſwer was, "that on ſuch occaſions, no regard ſhould be paid to friendſhip, or private conſiderations; but that their care ſhould be to place a perſon in that high ſtation, who was equal to it, and for that end offer up their ſupplications and direct their intentions."—So perfectly was he Maſter of Himſelf, that he ſeemed rather at home, in the retirement of his own Library, than on a Theatre, where ſuch a prize was in competition, and he the moſt likely of any of the Candidates, to ſucceed. A proof of this is the excellent Dialogue he wrote, at this time, *on the duties of the Papacy* *, of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak elſewhere.

AMONGST others who obſerved ſo uncommon an equality of mind, and ſo perfectly free from all ambition, was the Spaniſh Cardinal of St. *James*, who, at one of the ſcrutinies, when only two votes had been wanting to raiſe CARDINAL POLE to the Popedom, and the eyes of all who were preſent, were fixt on him, related, that he had not remarked the leaſt emotion, at ſo critical a juncture, nor ſo much as a change in his countenance †. Another of the Electors, who bore him an ill will, obſerved this tranquillity, but not with the Philoſophic eye of the *Spaniard:* for being obliged to leave the Conclave, on account of his health, and being aſked which of the Candi-

 dates

* *Poli* Vita, p. 19.

† Fuit præter cæteros *S. Jacobi* Cardinalis, Hiſpanus, qui POLI conſtantiam magnopere ſe admirari oſtenderet. Nam, cùm quodam die Cardinalium ſuffragia de Pontifice eligendo recenſerentur, et ſcrutinium (ſic enim appellant) fieret, ac duo tantum POLO ad Pontificatûs adeptionem ſuffragia defuiſſent, narrabat, ſe animadvertiſſe, eâ re POLUM nihil prorſus fuiſſe immutatum, ſed eundem ſemper, quem antè ſolitus erat, vultum retinuiſſe. *Poli* Vita, fol. 19.

dates ſtood faireſt for the Papacy, and what he thought of the Engliſh CARDINAL? His anſwer was, that a more undeſerving perſon could not be pitched on: that he had let them all ſee he was a mere Log, having neither been affected with ſuch a proſpect, nor by the intrigues which were uſed to exclude him from it *.—From which behaviour, it is preſumed, every wiſe and good man will draw a conſequence juſt the reverſe to this cenſure.

THE ſame ſteadineſs appeared in a trial, on a like occaſion, but of a more difficult nature, when one of the Cardinals reproached him with ambition, and being too much in haſte to be choſen Pope; to which he made no other reply, than that he was too well acquainted with the duties and importance of that ſtation, not to dread, rather than court it; and that he pitied thoſe, who conſidered it in a different light †.

THOUGH the greatneſs of his mind, which was not dazzled at ſuch an elevation placed before him in full view, and the proſpect of being raiſed to it, was admired by all who were witneſſes of it: the little regard which he ſhewed at the ſiniſter reports and ſlanders which ſome evil-minded and envious perſons raiſed concerning him, was not leſs praiſeworthy.—They gave out, that he favour'd the modern Errors; they upbraided him with too great lenity in the government of *Viterbo*, and with having a natural Daughter, whom he had placed in a Monaſtery at *Rome*.—His anſwer was, "that his character was in no danger from ſuch imputations; and as ſoon as he was judicially accuſed, and knew who were his Parties, he would then take care to ſtate his caſe in ſuch a manner, as would do no great credit to his Adverſaries.

* *Poli* Vita, fol. 20. † Ibid.

verſaries. That as to the accuſation of Hereſy, all *Europe* was informed of what he had undertaken in defence of the Catholic Faith; the dangers he had been expoſed to, and his Prince's hatred which he had incurred on no other account but becauſe no perſuaſion and no reward could prevail on him, to approve an opinion which was contrary to the received tenets of Antiquity: that, his Mother's blood, and that of his elder Brother, and of ſeveral of his relations, which which was ſhed by King *Henry*, becauſe they were ſtedfaſt to the ſame opinions, bore evidence of his attachment to them. As to the third ſlander, of a natural Child, the Inventors of it had done all that was neceſſary for its refutation; for having, in order to ſtrengthen the calumny, cauſed the Mother to be ſought, whoſe daughter the Cardinal had cauſed to be educated in a Nunnery; it was diſcovered, to their confuſion, that the Child was the Orphan of an Engliſh Woman, who died at *Rome*; and that he had taken care of her education, that ſhe might not be expoſed to evil courſes. It was likewiſe known, that beſides the ſmall effects which her Mother left her, he had depoſited a conſiderable ſum in a Bank, eſtabliſhed for ſuch purpoſes, which, at a proper age, might enable her to enter on a ſuitable marriage. Such acts of charity and humanity were cuſtomary to him, and he perform'd them in ſo ſecret a manner, that very few were informed from whom the benefaction came *.—I have had occaſion to relate elſewhere, what he ſaid in vindication of his Government of *Viterbo*. Sect. v. p. 303.

To return to the Conclave: It muſt be acknowledged

* Vita *Poli*, fol. 19. et Epiſt. *R. Poli*. ad Epiſc. *Pacenſem*, 39. Epiſt. t. 4.

knowledged that the above mentioned arts, which were made uſe of, either to gratify private ambition, or to exclude a choice, in which merit and favour equally concurred, were utterly unworthy perſons met on ſuch an occaſion. But the behaviour of the Electors who had engaged their votes to the Engliſh Cardinal was no leſs honourable to themſelves and him, than his own conduct. They were, as we have already ſeen, the greater number and the moſt illuſtrious of the ſacred College, and " I may well ſtyle them, ſays he (from the over-flowings of a good and grateful mind) a choſen band, ſince their unanimity continued not days and weeks only, but whole months; during all which time, not one of them ſpoke either to me or any of my Houſehold concerning their own private affairs; which could not have happened, had they been influenced in their choice by any other view than that of the Public Good. This conſent in my favour was amongſt perſons, with whom I had neither parentage, nor country, nor any thing in common, but the fellowſhip of the ſame College. I had perſonal connections with few; and the greater part were thoſe with whom I had a very ſlender acquaintance, and had no opportunity of deſerving well or being uſeful to any one; all which conſiderations are of great weight in ſuch caſes. When I ſaw, therefore, their filial affection and attachment, I could not but call to mind the words of the Prophet, though ſpoke on a very different occaſion, *who has procured me, who am a foreigner, and a baniſhed man, ſuch a numerous Offspring?* *

FARNESIUS.

* Regredi verò non ſinebat ſacra illa Cohors--- ſacram autem ſe fuiſſe ea re vel maximè probavit, quod cùm non dies, ſed totos menſes maneret hic conſenſus, nemo tamen ex

FARNESIUS finding that the number who had acceded to thofe, who, from the beginning, declared themfelves for CARDINAL POLE, amounted now to two thirds, which are required for the election of a Pope, went to him, accompanied with another of the leading Electors, and informed him of the choice made in his favour, and defired him to receive the homage which is paid on the like occafions *. It was night when this happened: and he anfwered, " he could not approve of hafty and tumultuous proceedings, and requefted the affair might be put off till the next day: and, if it was God's good pleafure that he fhould be elected, the choice they had thought fit to make of him, would take place in the morning, no lefs than at that time :" and leaving an example of moderation, fays his Hiftorian, which he had

ex tanto numero, qui certé maximam Collegii partem complectebatur, tam longo temporis fpatio inventus eft, qui aut mecum aut cum aliquo meorum de re fuâ privatâ quicquam ageret, id quod à nemine fieri potuiffe mihi perfuadebam, nifi ab illis, qui Reipublicæ et Ecclefiæ fua fuffragia, id eft, ipfi DEO et CHRISTO Ecclefiæ Sponfo, animos et vota fua hac in causâ penitus confecraffent. Cùm igitur perpetuam eorum conftantiam tamdiu expertus viderem, fumma erga me ftudia, tanquam filiorum erga parentem, hoc unum contendentium, ut mihi fupremus honor, et Patris erga fe locus deferetur.---Quibufcum nihil fere, præter Collegii focietatem, commune habui, non patriam, non genus; quorum etiam plures privatim ex tenui amicitia, pauciffimi ufu atque confuetudine mihi erant conjuncti: nulla certê extabant mea in quemquam illorum merita et beneficia, quæ in hoc genere plurimum valere folent---quoties, me putas dixiffe mecum illa Prophetæ verba, *quis mihi genuit iftos*, &c. Ep. *R. Poli*, pars 4a. p. 60. Ep. ad Epifcopum *Pac.*

* Tum verò id ipfe nunquam magis fenfi, quàm illâ nocte, cum ad me duo ampliffimi noftri Ordinis viri rogatum venerunt verbis omnium, qui juftum jam fuffragiorum numerum explerent, ut me in illud Sacellum deduci paterer, quò Cardinales ad Pontificem deligendum convenire folent. Quò fi veniffem, fuum de me judicium electione (quam adorationem vocant) fe teftaturos profitebantur, &c. Epift. *R. Poli*, pars 4a, p. 58. Epift. ad Epifcopum *Pacenfem.*

had neither read nor heard of before, he refused to receive the homage*.

A SHORT time after, two others of the principal members of the sacred College came to him, on the part of their Constituents, with the same commission, and having exposed to him, that they asked nothing but what was usual, he then told them, he would do as they would have him. But they were no sooner gone, than he repented of the assent he had given, and sent one of his Domestics to entreat those Cardinals, whose authority was the greatest, that the whole affair, if possible, might be put off till the next morning: and the person, when he returned, informed his Lord, that he had found them, of their own accord, come to that resolution †.

ON the following day, other views and dispositions took place; the Cardinals who were in the Emperor's interest, closed with those who favoured the French, and proposed Cardinal *Morono*. He was but two and forty years old, yet had so high a reputation of integrity and prudence, that in the ensuing scrutiny he failed of being raised to the Papacy, only by two votes. His respect, however, for the English CARDINAL was such, that he would not have a second Scrutiny for himself, but earnestly desired the Electors to return to their former resolution. The French party had now gained the ascendant, and CARDINAL POLE requested, they would honour some other

* Atque ita adorari tum noluit. Quod ego antea fecisse quemquam neque audivi, neque verò legi unquam. Vita *Poli*, fol. 20. à tergo.

† Cum verò paulo post duo alii ejusdem Ordinis insignes viri, et eâdem authoritate præditi, cum iisdem mandatis ad me venissent, qui nihil à me præter consuetudinem, nihil nisi legitimum et justum postulari demonstrarent; tum quidem me in Eorum potestate futurum dixi, &c. Ep. *R. Poli*, pars 4a, p. 58.

other perſon with their choice, and not permit the common cauſe to ſuffer by any further delays. On this, the Cardinals *Farneſe* and *de Guiſe*, who had the lead in the Conclave, united their intereſt, and agreed to chuſe Cardinal *Monti*, who, afterwards, took the name of *Julius* III. *Farneſe* communicated his intention to CARDINAL POLE and aſked his concurrence, which, though the Candidate propoſed had not favoured his election, he gave with a ſatisfaction that ſufficiently atteſted his ſincerity. The night was now far advanced, when the Cardinals met in the Chapel, to pay their obedience to the new Pope: and CARDINAL POLE, preſenting himſelf with the reſt, as the cuſtom is, to kiſs his feet, the Pope roſe up, and embracing him with tears, told him, it was to his diſintereſtedneſs that he owed the Papacy: which he frequently repeated. And being afterwards, at war with *France*, on account of the Dutchy of *Mirandola*, and reduced to great ſtreights, he told Cardinal *Ranutius*, Brother to *Alexander Farneſe*, that he was not conſcious of any miſdeed which could have drawn on him ſo heavy a Chaſtiſement, unleſs it was, not having concurred to CARDINAL POLE's election, of whoſe eminent merit he was ſo well aſſured *.

THE Conclave was now broke up, and the CARDINAL, who did not conſider the concluſion of it as any diſappointment to himſelf, returned home with his uſual tranquillity. He ſaid to his Friends, that he ſhould, perhaps, have been an unfit inſtrument for the deſigns of Providence: that he rejoiced there was an end put to a ſtrife, which was both dangerous and diſhonourable; and a Chief Paſtor given to the Chriſtian world, in the choice of whom, any longer delay might have been attended with pernicious conſequences: and

* Vita *Poli*, fol. 21,

and when ſome of the Cardinals, who, from ſelfiſh views, had oppoſed his election, ſignified their diſapprobation of the choice they had made, and repentance for their conduct in his regard, he was the firſt to comfort them. In fine, his whole behaviour, with reſpect to the election, gave a greatneſs to his private Character, which no elevation could have equalled *.

I HAVE related, that whilſt he was in the Conclave, he wrote a work *on the Duties of the Papacy*; and we learn from his letter to the perſon, to whom it is inſcribed, that the following incident gave occaſion to it.—Among the Cardinals then aſſembled, *Julius Ruvere* was diſtinguiſhed by his youth, and a ſprightly and promiſing genius; and there being a particular intimacy between his Uncle, *Hercules Gonzaga*, and the Engliſh Cardinal, he was deſirous to be uſeful to this young Nobleman, by directing his choice of a future Pontiff, and laying before him the obligations which that dignity impoſed on thoſe who were advanced to it. From a converſation held with him, in the firſt days of the Conclave, he perceived his ſentiments on that ſubject were very juſt, and much above his age. This gave him the thought of throwing together on paper, in form of a Dialogue, what they had lately diſcourſed on, and introducing himſelf and the young man as Speakers. The letter by which he addreſſes the performance to him is very fine †; and he afterwards enlarged the Work, to a treatiſe in five books.

1541. IT was nine years ſince he had been appointed Governor of *the Province of the Patrimony*, and he
1553. continued in it three more, after the election of *Julius* III. The conſideration he was held in by this Pontiff, obliged him to make frequent journies

* Vita *Poli*, fol. 21.
† Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4. pag. 47.

nies from *Viterbo*, where he resided, to *Rome*, as he had done under the late Pope. Being now in the fifty-third year of his age, he was desirous to pass the evening of his life in a privacy to which his inclinations had ever led him; and which he had hitherto foregone from a principle of duty, and in a view of being useful to Mankind.—He had, moreover, an additional inducement to retire from business, in the loss of those who were accustomed to share the weight of it with him. The Cardinals *Contareni*, *Bembo*, *Sadolet*, *Cortesius*, and *Badia*, and *Giberti*, Bishop of *Verona*, were dead: and two of his most valuable and endearing connections were broke by the death of *Flaminius*, and *Victoria Colonna*, Marchioness of *Pescara*. *Rome*, likewise, where every thing had the face of war, on account of the disagreement between *Julius*, and *Henry* II. of *France*, was become a Scene little suited to his temper. He obtained, therefore, the Pope's consent, to resign his Government, and retire to *Maguzano*, a Monastery of Benedictine Monks, of which Order he was the Patron. This Retreat is in the territory of *Verona*, and very agreeably situated near the Lake *Benacus*, which has been celebrated by *Virgil* in the following lines:

Adde lacus tantos; te, Lari *maxime*, *teque*
Fluctibus et fremitu assurgens, Benace, *marino*.
GEOR. II.

Our spacious Lakes; thee, *Larius*, first; and next,
Benacus, with tempestuous Billows vext.
DRYDEN.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

CARDINAL POLE, *on* Edward *VIth's Death, is appointed Legate to Queen* Mary. *The purpose of this Commission.*

Various obstacles and delays obstruct his journey to England; *which, at length, takes place.*

Year 1553. CARDINAL POLE had not been a year in his retirement at *Maguzano*, when he was again called forth to action, and engaged *in that lucid path, which did not end till it brought him to the meridian* of the Career, which providence appointed him to accomplish *. *Edward* VI. died on the sixth of *July*, 1553, which was observed to be the same day of the same month, on which his Father had put Sir *Thomas More* to death. As soon as the news of this event reached *Rome*, one of the Secretaries, by the Pope's orders, wrote to the CARDINAL the following letter.—" Having heard, a few days ago, of the death of the King of *England*, his Holiness has thought proper to use all convenient diligence to bring back that People to the ancient worship, from which they are lately fallen: and, in order to effect this, he is minded to make use of your Lordship's counsel; which was likewise the sentiment of the whole Congregation of Cardinals. Whilst the Patent was yesterday making out, a Courier arrived from *France*, with the news of a revolution of affairs in that Kingdom, where the Princess *Mary* has been proclaimed Queen, with the universal consent of the Nation. The information gave his Holiness the greatest joy, and, having called the sacred College, he let them know, that no

* Justorum semita quasi lux splendens procedit et crescit usque ad perfectum diem. *Prov.* iv. 28. Edit. Vulg.

no method occurred to him more ſuited to the preſent exigency, or which had greater appearance of ſucceſs, than to appoint your Lordſhip Legate to the Queen, to the Emperor, to the King of *France*, and, in-fine, to all Places, through which you ſhould take your journey. The propoſal was univerſally approved, and each one teſtified his ſatisfaction at the Event which gave occaſion to it. We are now employed in getting ready the Letters Patent, which, will be in the moſt ample form, and your Lordſhip will judge whether any thing further ſhould be added. Your Lordſhip's Credentials, alſo, for each of the abovementioned Powers, are preparing, and will be ſent, by an Expreſs, to *Germany*, as we make no doubt of your taking that road, in order to confer with his Imperial Majeſty, before you proceed on your journey.—His Holineſs, therefore, entreats you to take on yourſelf this commiſſion, for the ſervice of Almighty God, the welfare of your Country, his own ſatisfaction, and that of the ſacred College and the whole Court of *Rome*.— It was, likewiſe, propoſed in the Council, if it would not be adviſeable to appoint the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Nuncio, that, in caſe your Lordſhip thought fit to ſend him before you, and employ him any other ways, he may do it with greater dignity *. His Patents,

 therefore,

* This Prelate was *Richard Pates*, who was ſent to the Emperor's Court in 1540; but refuſing to return to *England* on a diſlike of *Henry*'s proceedings, he was deprived of his Biſhoprick in 1547; and ſoon after, attainted of high treaſon. He continued in baniſhment all *Edward*'s reign; during which he ſate in the Council of *Trent*: and on Queen *Mary*'s acceſſion was recalled home, and reſtored to his See, in 1554. In the 1ſt of *Eliz.* on refuſing to take the Oath of Supremacy, he was, a ſecond Time, deprived of his Biſhoprick; and, going abroad, aſſiſted at the Cloſe of the Council of *Trent*; and was alive in 1562. *Godw.* de Præſ. Angl. *Fox*, at the year 1559. *Laur. Hump.* in Vitâ *Juelli*, pag. 179. Ath. *Oxon.* 694.

therefore, ſhall be made out at the ſame time, and may be uſed or laid aſide, as your Lordſhip ſees fitting. You can ſtand in need, my Lord, of no directions or advice from us, as no one is ſo well informed of the meaſures it will be convenient to take, as yourſelf: the whole affair, therefore, is entruſted to your diſcretion, knowledge, charity, and zeal; and you have every one's good wiſhes, that the undertaking may be crowned with ſucceſs *."

Rome 6th *Aug.* 1553.

The Credentials here mentioned are to the following purport: The Pontiff informs him, "that the ſlender proſpect he had of concluding a peace between the Emperor and the moſt Chriſtian King, had cauſed him to recall his Legates from thoſe Courts: but, that he might not ſeem to give up all hopes of ſo deſirable an event, he had charged him with the ſame negotiation; as, in his way to *England*, he would have an interview with one, or both of theſe Monarchs My motive for ſo doing, ſays the Pope, is not grounded on any diſpoſitions on their part to give ear to a ſalutary remonſtrance on this head; but, becauſe much depends on circumſtances of time and place, and no one is better qualified than yourſelf to take the advantage of ſuch opportunities. Your prudence and ſagacity, and that art of perſuaſion which recommends all you ſay, may prevail, though the means hitherto tried have been ineffectual. I ſhall, therefore, preſcribe nothing to you, in particular, but leave the whole affair to be managed as you judge moſt conducive to the dignity of the holy See, and the emolument of the Chriſtian Commonwealth. You are already informed of my intentions, and of the ſincere deſire I have to ſee peace and tranquillity reſtored; and this long ſought remedy applied to the diſtemper-ed

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 4ª. pag. 109.

ed ſtate of public affairs. Whatever meaſures, therefore, you think fit to purſue, I ſhall look on them as worthy your abilities, and deſerving my approbation †. 22d Sept. 1553.

As the management of the whole buſineſs was left to the CARDINAL, he was of opinion, he ought to be informed of the Queen's diſpoſition, and the ſtate of the Nation, before he ſet out on ſo hazardous an undertaking: he wrote, therefore, the following letter to her.

HE begins, " by ſetting forth the great and unexpected turn in the Queen's fortune, which could be aſcribed to nothing but a declaration of Heaven in her favour. A powerful Faction had ſet up a Rival; thoſe at the head of it had leiſure and opportunity to ſtrengthen themſelves; ſhe herſelf had, for ſeveral years, been reduced almoſt to the condition of a private perſon. All theſe were incidents which ſeemed to forebode her overthrow. Yet, when the affair came to be decided, a few of her faithful Subjects who had dared to declare in her right, had overbalanced all theſe unfavourable circumſtances; and, in an inſtant, brought the threats, the deſigns, the inſolence, the attempts of her Enemies, to nothing. This, ſays he, can be attributed only to him who diſpoſes of Kingdoms to whom he thinks proper, and changes the heart of man according to his good pleaſure; whoſe counſels are not to be controuled by human ſtrength or prudence. He obſerves, that this Event was too memorable a proof of a divine Providence, not to awake in the Engliſh a belief of it; which though it was the baſe of all Religion; yet on account of the long ſway which the Wicked had exerciſed, was ſo little regarded, eſpecially by thoſe who were reputed more wiſe and pru-

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† *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 4a, pag. 431.

dent than the reſt, that it ſeemed almoſt entirely forgot. Wherefore, if any Woman might preſume to praiſe Almighty God in the Words of the bleſſed Mother of his Son, it was Herſelf. She might truly ſay, *He had regarded the lowlineſs of his Handmaid—His arm had done mighty things—He had put down the mighty from their Seats, and exalted the* Luke, ch. i. *lowly.*

" He then goes on by telling Her, that a deep ſenſe of religion, and zeal for her Majeſty's perſon obliged him to deſire her to call to mind, at the beginning of her Reign, by what ſteps ſuch a confuſion of human and divine right, as was but too viſible in all private and public concerns, had been introduced: that, ſhe would perceive the firſt cauſe of it to have been the ill-fated and unlawful divorce of the King her Father from the beſt of women, her Mother; which crime had been followed by his ſeparation from the common parent of all Chriſtians, the Catholic Church. That, from this poiſonous root all thoſe misfortunes had ſprung, which had corrupted the body of the People, and left few remains either of integrity or religion; both which had been baniſhed when the obedience due to the authority eſtabliſhed by Jesus Christ was laid aſide; nor would be reſtored, but with it. She might credit him, he ſays, who had ſuffered ſo much both in that, and her Majeſty's cauſe; and who had left nothing untried to ſerve her; that if his endeavours had hitherto proved unſucceſsful, the very diſappointment now afforded him a ſingular ſatisfaction, as he viſibly ſaw the hand of providence declare itſelf in her favour.—He obſerves that God had not permitted her to be aſſiſted by any earthly Potentate, but had deferred her deliverance to that time, in which he had decreed to raiſe her by his own almighty arm; and, in the mean while, had dealt with her as he uſed to

do

do with his chosen servants, whom he leads to the prosperity, for which he designs them, by adverse fortune and the trials of patient hope.—He says, the eyes of all good men were intent on this great Event; and himself, in particular, having had more frequent opportunity of being acquainted with those excellent endowments, which had distinguished her from her infancy; that, this knowledge made him more desirous to be informed of her present dispositions with respect to Religion, and those Means which were necessary to restore it; and, therefore, though he was appointed Legate of the holy See to her Majesty, the Emperor, and the King of *France*; yet the commission was of so delicate and important a nature, that he would not enter on it, till he knew her intentions, which he desires may be communicated to him by the person who was to deliver his letter. He adds, that this caution did not proceed from any distrust in her goodness, whom he had ever known most grateful to God for his mercies, and most observant of his laws, at the head of which was the acknowledgment of the Church's authority. This authority, he observes, ought to have a personal weight with her, whose Father had disowned it on no other account, but because it had been exerted in her cause, and against his lawless desires.—But as such a licentiousness had prevailed since this rupture, as must make a return to the ancient observance very difficult, he would have her Majesty's advice as to the manner and time, in which he might appear in the character of Legate, so as to answer, with greater advantage, the purposes for which he had been invested with it. He ends, with beseeching Almighty God, that her orders on this head may be suited to the expectation, which all well-disposed persons entertained of her: and doubts not to make it appear,

 if

if ſhe is pleaſed to grant him a favourable audience, that the foundation and ſecurity of every good, which could be derived on her people, was to be built on the foundations which her ſubjects had forſaken *.

é Cœnobio Megazeni Benaci, Ibid. Sex. 1553.

He ſent this letter, which was wrote in Latin, by a ſpecial Meſſenger, who had orders to call on the Cardinal *Dandalo*, the Papal Embaſſador at the Emperor's Court, which was then kept at *Bruſſels*; and who, being in the neighbourhood of *England*, might ſend him more certain intelligence than he could have at ſo great a diſtance. *Dandalo* on this diſpatched his Secretary into *England*, who having had frequent conferences with the Queen, and informed himſelf of the preſent temper of the People, went back towards the end of *Auguſt*, and, by an almoſt incredible expedition, performed the journey from *Bruſſels* to *Rome* within nine days. He called on Cardinal Pole, who was ſtill in the Monaſtery near *Benacus*; and the Meſſenger he had ſent to the Queen, delivered him her Majeſty's anſwer to his letter which was to the following purpoſe.

" She begins by thanking him for the part he took in her being placed on the Throne of her Anceſtors; and the ſingular providence of Almighty God in defeating the oppoſition which had been made to the juſtice of her title: and that ſhe was no leſs obliged to him for the good will he ſignified for her Kingdom, which was, likewiſe, his own Country, and for the wholeſome advice he had added to the above-mentioned articles.—Though ſhe had not been united to him by the ties of conſanguinity, yet ſuch an unfeigned declaration of friendſhip would have the beſt claim to all the return ſhe could make.—That ſhe would

* *Odoricus Raynaldus*, tom. xxi, Annal. Eccleſ. Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4a, p. 116, et 428.

would endeavour to profit from his inſtructions, as much as her circumſtances would allow, having ever been in thoſe diſpoſitions in which he wiſhed her to perſevere. As to what regarded the ſubmiſſion and reſpect due to the Catholic Church, the bearer would fully inform him of her mind, and the anxiety ſhe laboured under not to be able to declare herſelf, without any reſerve on this head; but as ſoon as ſuch a meaſure was adviſeable, ſhe would inform him, her very good Kinſman, of it.—The ſame Meſſenger was to give him an account of her Coronation, and of ſeveral other tranſactions, at which ſhe would have him be preſent: and of the hopes ſhe entertained that the preſent meeting of the Parliament would repeal thoſe Statutes which had occaſioned the late Evils. She had a confidence, alſo of obtaining pardon from the Pope, of whatever had been blameable in her own behaviour; and had a grateful remembrance of the many inſtances of good will ſhe had received from him; and entreated the LEGATE to be the Mediator of a perfect reconciliation. She concludes, by acknowledging the pledges of a Brother's love he had ſo often given her; and by recommending herſelf again to the Pontiff and himſelf *." *Weſtminſter*, 6th *Oct.* 1553.

THE chief Articles which the Meſſenger was to communicate to the LEGATE, and which were to be ſecret to all but the Pope and himſelf, were, that the Queen, with the conſent of her Parliament, would aboliſh the Laws, which her Father and Brother had paſſed againſt the ancient Worſhip; and ſend an Embaſſy of reverence and obedience to the holy See. In the mean time ſhe requeſted the Pope to pardon the Engliſh, in a publick manner, that none might ſuffer for having

* *R. Poli*, Epiſt. pars 4a, p. 429.
† *Gratiani* in Vitâ *Commendoni*, pag. 33, et ſeq.

ving come into the meaſures of the late Kings, and left the communion of the See of *Rome*: that REGINALD POLE might be ſent Legate into *England*, with full power to tranſact all this; and reinſtate the former faith and diſcipline. Beſides theſe orders from the Queen, the Secretary had informed the CARDINAL, from *Dandalo*, that it was adviſeable to defer, for ſome time, his journey to *England*.

THE ſame Meſſenger being arrived at *Rome*, delivered to the Pope a letter from the Queen, in which ſhe profeſſed on her own part and that of the Nation, the obedience and reſpect which all Princes, in communion with the Biſhop of *Rome*, have ever acknowledged to be due to his See, without any diminution of their own prerogative, or prejudice to the rights of their People †. —The young Gentleman, *John Commendon*, who brought this news was, afterwards, raiſed to the purple, and eſteemed one of the moſt able Negotiators of his age; and having paſſed through all thoſe honours, by which the Courts, which employed him, could teſtify their ſenſe of his merit, he, at length, ſurvived his underſtanding, and died in obſcurity. His reputation, however, has been tranſmitted to the lateſt poſterity by *Gratiani*, Biſhop of *Amelia*, who had been his Secretary, and has rendered his Patron that tribute of gratitude, which *Becatelli* paid to the memory of CARDINAL POLE, by writing his life in a greater detail, and with equal ſenſe and elegance.

THIS intelligence cauſed the Pope to write to the CARDINAL, " that though much caution was requiſite in the preſent affair, yet he would have him ſet out on his journey; but perform it in ſuch a manner, as neither to prejudice the Queen's ſafety, nor the common cauſe.—That this was his opinion, and that of the ſacred College; yet it

† *Gratiani* in Vita *Commendoni*, pag. 33, et ſeq.

it was left to his own piety and prudence, to his knowledge and experience; and to the advices, which he would receive with greater certainty and expedition than they could, to resolve on what was best, and take his measures accordingly *." 20th *Sept.* 1553.

Soon after this letter the Legate set out with a design of taking the road to *Germany*, and conferring with the Emperor at *Brussels*, before he proceeded any further.—In the mean time every thing in *England* seemed to favour the Religious Revolution, which was, soon after, effected.

The French Ambassador at the Court of *England*, the Lord of *Noailles*, had already been informed of all the steps which were taken at *Rome*; and had acquainted his King, " that Cardinal Pole was appointed Legate of the holy See to the Queen and the English Nation; that his Patents were already made out, and sent to *Verona* by the Bishop of *Burgos*, who formerly had been *Catherine* of *Aragon*'s ghostly Father: that, He was to take his road through *Germany*, and come directly to the Emperor, at *Brussels*; where, as he understood, he was to stay some Days, and consider on what would be the most likely means to make his presence most agreeable to the People of *England*. I thought proper, says the Ambassador, to give your Majesty this information, because I did not know but you would give orders to your Residents in *Germany* and *Switzerland*, to receive the Legate, in his passage, with distinction, as he comes on so good and laudable a commission, before he reaches the Emperor: for your Majesty may be well assured, that if once he comes hither, he will have the first place in the Queen's confidence, to the no small displeasure of the Chancellor, and of several of the Nobility, who,

* Epist. *R. Poli*, pars 4a, pag. 111.

who, on account of their religious principles, will ſee with regret a Churchman at the head of the Miniſtry *." He wrote to the King, ſome time after, that the CARDINAL's preſence was very
4th Sept. neceſſary for the Queen's affairs, and the mutual
1553. advantage which both nations might derive from it. I aſſure your Majeſty, ſays this Nobleman, that beſides the real need there is of his advice, He is, likewiſe, more univerſally wiſhed for than I could have imagined, both by Proteſtants and
24th Nov. Catholics †.

BUT before I enter on Queen *Mary*'s Reign, which was the laſt and great Theatre, on which He appeared, who is the ſubject of this Hiſtory, it may not be improper to give ſome account of the character, under which this Princeſs had hitherto been conſidered, and which may contribute to make what is hereafter to be ſaid of her, more ſatisfactory. The education ſhe received from her Mother formed her to that ſteadineſs and zeal for the Religion of her Anceſtors, which ſeems to have been the ruling principle of her whole conduct. This reverence, which we owe to the veracity and ſanctity of the Supreme Being, either, when he reveals his Truths to our Belief, or preſcribes his Laws to our Practice, cauſed her to make that memorable reply, when *Charles*. V. cautioned her to proceed ſlowly, and not declare herſelf whilſt the iſſue of affairs was yet uncertain ; " That her truſt in God alone had, firſt, ſupported her in the greateſt ſtreights of adverſe fortune ; and, then, raiſed her to a Crown ; wherefore, ſhe was reſolved to uſe no delay in teſtifying her gratitude to Him, to whom ſhe owed her ſafety and dignity ; but to do it immediately, and in the moſt conſpicuous

* Ambaſſades de *Noailles*, tom. 2, pag. 135.
† *Ibid.* pag. 271.

ſpicuous manner *." It being, in that age, faſhionable to give young Ladies of high birth a tincture of literature, *Lewis Vives*, the *Quintilian* of thoſe times, inſtructed her in the Latin language, under whom ſhe made ſo conſiderable a progreſs, as to write tolerably well in that tongue. The inaccuracies of a letter of hers to CARDINAL POLE, which is preſerved in the *Bodleian* Library, are a ſtrong preſumption, beſides the ſubject, that the whole, as it now ſtands, is the compoſition of the Princeſs †. Her Father, on divorcing the Queen, had obliged her to ſubſcribe to her own illegitimacy; but being, afterwards reconciled to her, and the parliament having ſettled the order of Succeſſion, as he thought fit, ſhe was ſubſtituted to her Brother *Edward*; and her title to the Crown became as legal and parliamentary, as it had always been juſt and natural. He, moreover, allotted her 10,000 l. as a Dower, and ſettled on her 3000 l. a year: a large maintenance in thoſe days, and equal to five times as much in ours. She ſuffered much during her Brother's reign, from the importunities made uſe of to compel her to renounce the Catholic Religion, and the indignities offered to her Chaplains, to all who belonged to her, and to her own perſon: and the anſwers ſhe returned to the young King's letters, her

* — Ut monenti *Carolo Cæſari* conſilium ne appropera-ret, neve tam immaturis rebus ſeſe indicaret, reſponſum ſanè memorabile reddiderit: Se, dum deſerta deſtitutaque in ſuâ calamitate jaceret, non alterius ſpe atque ope, quàm Dei ſuſtentatam; ad regnum inde provectam fuiſſe: Itaque ſtatutum ſibi, cui ſalutem et dignitatem deberet, ei non cunctanter aut obſcuré, ſed ſtatim ac propalam gratiam profiteri. *Gratiani*, in Vita *Commendoni*, pag. 36.

† It is paſted on the blank leaves of King *James* the firſt's works, publiſhed by Biſhop *Montacute*, and preſented to the Univerſity by that Monarch.

her expoſtulations with him and the Lords of the Council, by whoſe orders ſhe was diſquieted, are made with a dignity becoming the uprightneſs and integrity of her own proceedings; the near relation ſhe bore to the Crown; and her knowledge of their evil purpoſes, to whom the King, her Brother, was entirely given up; and ſhew a reſolution which was not to be ſhaken, and which ſhe exerted, to the full, on *Edward*'s death, and in the following manner *.

DUDLEY, who was created Duke of *Northumberland*, had cauſed the late King, when he was leaving the world, and his mind reduced as low as his body, to exclude the Princeſſes *Mary* and *Elizabeth* from the ſucceſſion, and ſubſtitute in their place the Lady *Jane Brandon*, whom he had married to *Robert* Lord *Guildford*, his fourth Son. She was the Daughter of *Frances*, Ducheſs of *Suffolk*, and deſcended by *Charles Brandon*, from *Mary* Dowager Queen of *France*, and Siſter to *Henry* VIII. After *Edward*'s Siſters, therefore, the Ducheſs ſtood next in relation to the crown, as the Scotiſh line, by *Henry*'s diſpoſition, was ſuppoſed to be ſet aſide: But the Mother had relinquiſhed all claim to Royalty, that ſhe might ſee it ſettled on her offspring; and *Northumberland*, in order to ſtrengthen his intereſt with the Nobility, had, at the ſame time, intermarried his Sons and Daughters into the principal families.— The whole privy Council (Lord Chief Juſtice *Hales* excepted) and *Cranmer* the Primate, at the head, had ſubſcribed to theſe unwarrantable meaſures. The Lady *Jane* alone, who had every claim to royalty, which beauty, knowledge, and moderation can confer, and who was the moſt

* *John Fox*, vol. 2, pag. 1337, &c, where the original Documents concerning the Princeſs *Mary* are put down at length.

moſt intereſted in this new ſettlement, was the only perſon who oppoſed it, and did all that depended on her, to refuſe a crown, which ſhe was obliged to lay down within a few days after ſhe had, with ſo much reluctance, accepted of it. Her Father-in-law, on *Edward*'s death, had cauſed her to be proclaimed Queen, and it having been formerly a cuſtom for our Sovereigns to ſpend the firſt days of their acceſſion in the Tower, he conveyed her thither; and the privy Council being obliged to attend, were, by that means, his Priſoners. The univerſal hatred which his violence and ambition had raiſed, made the proclamation of the new Queen be heard with ſullenneſs and diſſatisfaction; and when *Ridley*, Biſhop of *London*, employed his rhetoric againſt the Princeſs *Mary*, at St. *Paul*'s Croſs, he had been heard with as little favour, as the Heralds who proclaimed her Rival.

The Princeſs had not been wanting to herſelf in theſe ſtreights, who by the intelligence ſhe received from the Earl of *Arundel*, had narrowly eſcaped the ſnare laid by *Northumberland* to get her and her Siſter in his power, by concealing the King's death, and counterfeiting his orders to them both, to repair to him, as he ſtood in need of their comfort and advice. Being apprized of this conſpiracy when ſhe was within half a day's journey of *Greenwich*, where *Edward* died, ſhe retired firſt into *Norfolk*; and then to *Suffolk*; and ſummoned the Nobility and Gentry to ſupport her claim, and offered a general pardon to all who had been wanting to the allegiance due to her. Beſides theſe circular Letters, ſhe notified to the Lords of the Council, " the ſettlement of the Crown, by Act of Parliament and her Father's will; which diſpoſition, ſhe ſays, was corroborated by other circumſtances, of which they, the Realm, and all *Europe* were informed: that the public Re-

cords

cords made it appear with ſuch evidence, that no true and faithful ſubject could be ignorant of it; and that ſhe had cauſed it to be publiſhed and proclaimed accordingly. She lets them know, that though ſhe was, by no means, ignorant of their deſigns and contrivances againſt her lawful claim, ſhe was, however, willing to put the moſt favourable conſtruction on their meetings and proceedings, and to avoid coming to force and bloodſhed: and required them to cauſe her title to be proclaimed in *London* and elſewhere, as was cuſtomary." The Lords, on receiving theſe orders, returned an anſwer ſuited to the meaſure they had already taken; and let the Princeſs know, "the whole right to the crown of *England* to be inveſted in the Lady *Jane*, *by the good order of the ancient laws of the Realm*, and by the diſpoſition of the late King: and they require the Princeſs to reduce herſelf to a private condition, in which caſe they offer her their good offices: otherwiſe, ſay they, ſhe will be grievous to them, to herſelf, and the whole ſtate;" and they are not afraid to allege, as the motive of their proceedings, "*the heinous and unſpeakable enormities* they ſhould incur, were they not to behave in this manner *."

Kenning-Hall, July 9th, 1553.

THIS declaration neither intimidated the Princeſs, nor checked the zeal of the Abettors of her cauſe. The Earls of *Bath* and *Suſſex*, the heirs apparent of the Lords *Wharton* and *Mordaunt*, Sir *William Drury*, Sir *Henry Beddingfield*, and Sir *Henry Jernigan*, appeared the firſt in ſupport of it; and, having great influence in their reſpective Counties, brought in their Retainers and Dependents. Sir *Edward Haſtings*, Brother to the Earl of *Huntingdon*, and Nephew to CARDINAL POLE, though he had a commiſſion from the

* *Fox*, Acts and Monuments.

the Council to raiſe Levies for the Lady *Jane*, joined the Princeſs *Mary*, at the head of 4,000 men; and the Fleet which lay off the coaſt of *Suffolk*, declared for her. This oppoſition made the Duke of *Northumberland* think it neceſſary to take the field, and aſſert by arms a claim which was alike deſtitute of juſtice and popularity. His troops did not exceed 6,000 men; and when he came to St. *Edmondſbury*, he found himſelf too weak to riſk a battle with the Princeſs's army, which was twice that number. He wrote, therefore, to the Council, to ſend him a reinforcement; but the Lords were ſo far from obeying the orders, that they made uſe of this commiſſion to free themſelves from their confinement; and being now out of his reach, and his power on the decline, they only aſſembled to deliberate in what manner to rid themſelves of his Tyranny. The Earl of *Arundel* opened the conference, by laying before them the violence, ambition, and cruelty of the Duke, and the guilt wherein he had involved the Council, which, he ſaid, could not be expiated but by acknowledging and aiding their rightful Sovereign. The motion was ſeconded by the Earl of *Pembroke*: and the Mayor and Aldermen being ſent for, they received the orders to proclaim the Princeſs, with great alacrity; and the ſame ſentiments became univerſal. Even the Duke of *Suffolk*, Father to the unhappy victim of *Northumberland's* ambition, finding reſiſtance to no purpoſe, opened the tower gates; from whence his Daughter returned to a private ſtate, with more ſatisfaction than ſhe had aſſumed Royalty. The Princeſs *Elizabeth* met her Siſter at the head of 1000 horſe ſhe had raiſed to maintain their joint title; and the people thronged to meet the Princeſs as ſhe drew near to *London*, and, every where, gave demonſtrations of joy for her ſucceſs, orders being given to take the Duke of

Northumberland

Northumberland into cuſtody, he fell on his knees to the Earl of *Arundel*, who arreſted him, and his whole behaviour was as abject, as, till then, it had been haughty and contemptuous. His guilt was of too deep a die to be effaced by any ſubmiſſions; and his character made it unſafe for any Government to pardon ſuch an Offender.

Aug. 22d. 1553. BEING come to the place of execution, he made a very remarkable declaration of the ſentiments in which he left the world; which has been tranſmitted to us, at length, in his own words, and is to the following purpoſe. "He begins by acknowledging his guilt againſt Almighty God, his Sovereign, and the whole Realm; and that he had been in open Rebellion againſt the Queen, for which though, of her own authority, ſhe might have ſentenced him to death, yet ſhe had been pleaſed to have him tried and condemned by law.—That, he truſted this had happened for the ſalvation of his ſoul, and to awaken in him a deeper ſenſe of his offences.—That, being allowed an entire freedom of ſpeech, he called God and All who were preſent to witneſs, he ſuffered for a cauſe, in which he had been engaged by other perſons, whom he aſked God to pardon.—He took this opportunity of declaring to them, that, ſome time before the death of King *Henry*, and ever ſince, he had been led aſtray by the reforming Preachers, which had been the principal cauſe of his misfortunes. He, therefore, cautioned them to beware of theſe profligate and ſeditious perſons, *who had opened the Book of errour, but knew not how to ſhut it.*—That ever ſince theſe new doctrines had been ſet on foot, God had given them up to themſelves; and inflicted on them the ſevereſt of his puniſhments, war, ſedition, riots, rebellion, plague, and famine.—He therefore, exhorts them to obedience of the Queen; and to return to the true Catholic faith, from which

which they had, for ſo long a time, fallen.—They had examples of the like errours and the like ruin in *Germany*, which were well known to every one.—That, to go no further, the Creed taught us to believe in the Holy Ghoſt the Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints; and this was his very Faith, as the Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter* could certify; and all he had ſaid, was not from any command he had received to ſpeak in this manner, but his own free choice *. Dr. *Heath*.

Two other perſons were put to death with him; and eight more tried and condemned of high treaſon: whoſe Attainder the Parliament, which was called ſoon after, approved and confirmed by their Authority †." Amongſt theſe were Lady *Jane*, and Lord *Guilford Dudley*: whoſe execution was put off, and, probably, never would have enſued, had not a ſubſequent rebellion made it ſeem neceſſary to the Queen's ſafety and the tranquillity of the State. This was all the blood that was ſpilt in puniſhment of a rebellion of the deepeſt guilt, and in which ſo many of the Nobility and others were engaged. A general pardon, with few exceptions, followed theſe acts of Juſtice; the Queen remitted the ſubſidy which had been granted to her Brother; and no Sovereign ſeems to have aſcended the throne of their Anceſtors with more univerſal ſatisfaction of all orders of the Nation. One of the firſt Acts of the prerogative was to erect anew the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, which had been diſſolved in the late reign, and annex to it the ancient Regalities. She reinſtated *Tonſtal* in this See; and having appointed Commiſſioners to reviſe the cauſes of *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Day*, *Heath*, and *Veſey*, who were deprived in the laſt reigns for refuſing to aſſent to

* *Titus*, b. 2. *Collier's* Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. 2, b. 5.
† Anno I. *Mariæ*, Seſſ. 2, c. 16.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

changes then introduced, ſhe reſtored them to the Biſhopricks of *Wincheſter*, *London*, *Chicheſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Exeter*. The Duke of *Norfolk*, who had been a Priſoner all *Edward*'s time; and *Courtney*, ſon to the Marquis of *Wincheſter*, were ſet at liberty. During theſe tranſactions, the Queen had been crowned; and the circumſtances which attended this ceremony, were a preſage of the change which immediately enſued. She was met at the Abbey Church, to which ſhe came with great magnificence, by three ſilver Croſſes, and eighty ſinging men in rich Copes; ſo ſudden a recruit had been made of theſe ſacred Veſtments. The new Dean, and ſeveral of her own Chaplains walked in this Proceſſion, which was cloſed by ten Biſhops, who remained of the Catholic communion, in their coſtly Mitres and Copes, and ſilver Croſier-Staves. A few days after the Coronation, a Parliament was ſummoned, at the opening of which the title of Supreme head on earth of the Church of *England* was given to the Queen. A high Maſs of the holy Ghoſt was performed on this occaſion, at which both Houſes aſſiſted; and, as an indication of the Queen's gracious purpoſes towards her People, the Seſſion began by limiting all treaſons to the Statute of the 25th of *Edward* III. and reducing felonies to ſuch offences only, as were deemed ſo before *Henry* VIIIth's reign *. The extenſions of miſdemeanours, to which this guilt was annexed, having given ſcope to the cruelty and avarice of that Prince, nothing could be more popular, or ſpeak a mind more deſirous to favour the Subject, than to reſtrain them within their ancient channels.—

24th *Oct.* The Houſes, likewiſe, declare, at the opening of the ſecond Seſſion, the validity of the marriage between King *Henry* and *Catharine* of *Aragon*, and repeal whatever had been enacted on a contrary ſuppoſition;

* Anno I. *Mariæ*, Seſſ. 1, c. 1.

tion; they exprefs their higheft difapprobation of *Cranmer's* behaviour in that proceeding, of which, indeed, they give many fhameful inftances *. In the next place, all ftatutes made in the laft reign, againft the doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, are repealed; and the divine worfhip, in all its branches, of which the ftatute enters on a large detail, is called back to the form it had at the death of *Henry* VIII †.

THE profpect of every thing which concerned the re-eftablifhment of the ancient worfhip was too promifing not to be communicated to the CARDINAL, who had it no lefs at heart than the Queen. Accordingly fhe difpatched to him *Thomas Godwell*, who was afterwards Bifhop of St. *Afaph's*, with an account of thefe particulars; but which did not difguife the doubts and perplexities fhe laboured under, and tempered the joy which fo unexpected a turn in affairs would otherwife have produced. I have not feen this letter; but the contents of it may be collected from a fecond, and a third, which fhe fent foon after; and by the anfwers which the CARDINAL returned to them all. She begins the fecond by referring him to what fhe had wrote by *Godwell.* " My Lord, fays fhe, you underftand, by my laft letter, in what fituation my concerns were, when I wrote to you, and for what reafons I defired you to delay, for a while, your journey to *London.* The purpofe of your Embaffy is fo fufpected by my Subjects, and fo odious to them, that an immediate arrival in thefe parts, tho' I wifh it extremely, would be rather prejudicial, than any ways avail me. The proceedings of the Parliament put this beyond a doubt: and fo ftrangely are the minds of the People prepoffeffed againft the Roman

 Pontiff,

* Anno I. *Mariæ*, Seff. 2. c. 1.
† *Ibid.* Seff. 2. c. 2.

Pontiff, that they find leſs difficulty in admitting all the other tenets of the Catholic Religion, than in the ſingle Article which regards the ſubordination due to him. The upper Houſe was of opinion, that all the Statutes which had paſſed ſince my Father's divorce from the Queen, and a little before that time, ſhould be repealed; as, by this means, every thing would be cancelled which had been voted either againſt Religion, or the validity of my Mother's marriage. But, when the queſtion came to be debated by the Commons, they preſently ſuſpected it to be propoſed in favour of the Biſhop of *Rome*, that the title of ſupreme head of the Church, which is annexed to the crown of *Britain*, might be given up; the Papal Power revived, and a facility procured of receiving you in quality of Legate. Were theſe apprehenſions to ceaſe, I underſtand there would be no difficulty either in repealing the Statutes made againſt the ancient Worſhip, or in ratifying my Mother's marriage. My fears are, that they will obſtinately inſiſt on my continuing to aſſume the Headſhip of the Church; and, if they do, I am not at a loſs in what manner to reply. I will remind them of my conſtant attachment to the Faith I profeſs, in which I have been educated, and will perſevere to the laſt—that I can conſent to nothing, which my conſcience condemns—that, the title in debate does not agree with Kings; as the Royal ſtate, in ſpiritual concerns, is ſubordinate to the Sacerdotal: and the Juriſdiction of the Body politick being of a different order from that of the Prieſthood, their power, dignity and functions were diſtinct—that there was a peculiar difficulty ariſing from my very Sex, to which nothing could be leſs ſuited than ſuch a title, and the extent of power annexed to it. If I can obtain nothing more, I will entreat them to ſuſpend for a time, at leaſt whatever regards a claim, to

which

which I can never consent, till some other expedient be found out. If my Parliament neglects the equity of this demand, I am at a loss how to behave, and what measures to take. You, my Lord, are the only person on whose prudence I rely; and whose advice I ask, that I may act nothing contrary to duty, and extricate myself from this 28th Oct.
Labyrinth *." This Letter is wrote in Latin, as 1553.
likewise the following, which was sent when she had heard from the CARDINAL, and after the Parliament had declared her Mother's marriage valid, and repealed every thing enacted, in the last reign, against the ancient Faith; though no mention has been made of the supremacy.

"SHE assures the CARDINAL, how much she honoured his dispositions, with respect to the great affair then under consideration, to his Country, and to herself. I see, my Lord, says she, how useful and desirable the purpose of your Embassy into these parts would be, did the situation of my affairs, and the inconstancy of my People, who have been estranged from truth, make such a step either safe or practicable. But this is so far from being the case, that your arrival in these circumstances would be attended with great hazard; and instead of being received with the respect due to a Legate of the holy See, your life would be in danger. I think it, therefore, more adviseable, that you put off your journey, and the execution of your commission, rather than throw every thing here into confusion; and retard, instead of promoting the business you come on. As to myself, my Lord, you can have no doubt but your presence would be extremely welcome to me. You are acquainted with the sincerity of my affections, to which your

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* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 4a, pag. 119.

conſtant good offices add a daily encreaſe; and which receive a freſh ſenſibility from the remembrance of thoſe adverſities we have ſhared in common: nor is there any thing, I ſo ardently wiſh, as to ſee my Kingdom exempt from errours, reconciled to the common Parent of all Chriſtians, and in a ſtate of tranquillity. I perceive, however, that it will be impoſſible to obtain fully theſe deſirable ends during the courſe of this Parliament: but that another muſt be called in three or four months, which is alſo the advice of my Council.—The Meſſenger who brings this, and is a perſon of confidence, will inform you, my Lord, that all the Statutes concerning Religion, which were paſſed in my Brother's reign, are repealed; and the divine Worſhip reinſtated in the form it was at my Father's death. This point was not carried but after a ſharp conteſtation, and the ſtrenuous endeavours of thoſe who are well affected to the cauſe of Truth: and all who wiſh well to me, and are of my Council, look on this event as a fortunate omen, and an earneſt of the ancient Rights univerſally taking place. You will likewiſe underſtand that the Houſes made no difficulty to declare my Mother's marriage lawful; which is a tacit acknowledgment of that Authority, in virtue of which it was contracted. The Bearer will acquaint you with the machinations of the Scotch to diſquiet our frontier, and keep up the troubles in *Ireland*. The French are not ignorant of this rebellious diſpoſition, and they encourage it; and, for that purpoſe, as I am aſſured by my Spies, hold a correſpondence with thoſe who are enemies to the meaſures I am purſuing. I apply to you, my Lord, for council, and entreat you to take into conſideration the ſtate of my affairs, the plan I propoſe to proceed on, the obſtinacy of my Subjects, and the difficulties

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I labour under. Let me know what conduct you would have me obferve; and where you think me deficient. I am ready to execute, with great alacrity, whatever you, my Lord, and the Council, fhall judge to be fafe and advantageous to myfelf and my People: and as fo much is already advanced, I hope you will fhortly come to *Bruffels*, in the Character of Legate to the Emperor; from whence we may correfpond more frequently, and with greater eafe. I defire nothing more than to be affifted, admonifhed, and comforted by fo able, fo knowing, and fo religious a Perfon. In the mean time, I will fee what can be done to ferve you, and I will undertake it with the beft of wills. Farewell, my Lord, and may God keep you in his holy guard *." *London.* 15th *Nov.* 1553.

I SHOULD be wanting to the regard which is due to the Reader, did I imagine he could take offence at the air of Religion which appears through all the CARDINAL's anfwers to the Queen, however unlike it may be to what we meet with in State papers. The Truth is, he confidered himfelf as a Prince of the Chriftian Church, no lefs than a Minifter of State; and that he wrote not only to a Queen of a great Kingdom, but to a Woman, in whofe eftimate duty held a higher place than a crown; and accordingly, the meafures he propofes to her are equally drawn from the morality of the Gofpel and human prudence.

" IN the firft place, he defires her Majefty to afk, for her direction, that *Spirit of council and fortitude*, which he had implored in giving her his advice; that, as this double gift had manifefted itfelf in her acceffion to the throne, it might ftill continue to govern her.—He reminds

* *R. Poli* Epift. pars 4ª, pag. 121.

her, that had ſhe wanted reſolution when all human ſuccour failed her, all had been loſt; and if ſhe does not continue to behave with the ſame courage in renouncing a title, which her Father had uſurped, in order to divorce the Queen, her Mother, and deprive herſelf of her birthright, ſhe will render the preſent poſſeſſion of it more precarious and difficult; and that ſhe could never want motives to be as zealous in giving up a deſtructive claim, as others had been in aſſerting it to the worſt of purpoſes. Her ſteadineſs, he ſays, ought, on this occaſion, to be the greater, as what was required, was only a compliance with an Article eſtabliſhed by all laws, human and divine; whereas, in her Father's caſe, there had been a violation of both—He obſerves, that ſhe had reaſoned very well, in her ſecond letter to him, on the diſtinct juriſdictions of the Kingly office and the Prieſthood, and had rightly concluded the incongruity of her own Sex for the latter: he ſhould, therefore, only add to what ſhe had remarked, that, if the great Apoſtle forbids a Woman to teach in the Church; how abſurd and iniquitous muſt it be to attribute to any one of that Sex the quality of ſupreme head of it? If a Woman, according to the ſame great Inſtructer of the Chriſtian World, cannot be ſaid to be the head of one man, to whom ſhe is joined in marriage, becauſe the Law of Nature has inſtituted Society on a different plan; both human and divine inſtitutions forbid, ſhe ſhould be head of that numerous multitude, which compoſe a National Church.—She was, therefore, to conſider this tenet as a matter of the higheſt importance, and for which, was it neceſſary, ſhe ſhould be ready to lay down her crown and life; as the beſt Men in her kingdom, *More* and *Fiſher* had done: but that any ſuch ſacrifice was ſo far from being required at her hands, that,

that, on the contrary, her welfare here and hereafter was interefted in refigning a Supremacy to that Power, in which God had invefted it: and as fhe now had an authority which enabled her to act in fo juftifiable a caufe, fhe could not efcape the cenfure either of God or Man, if fhe did not exert it.

"He comes then to the neceffary means of accomplifhing this affair, by having it ratified in parliament: and this, he thinks, will entirely depend on the fitnefs of the perfon, who brings it into the Houfe: that having long confidered on this particular, he faw none either of the Spiritual or Temporal Lords, or any of the Commons, who could undertake it with propriety: The Prelates having abetted the contrary opinion by vote and writing, which muft greatly leffen their authority, when men heard them now maintain what they had formerly oppofed: and as to the Lay Peers and the Commons, they were fo biaffed by lucrative confiderations; and, by cafting off the Church's authority, had got poffeffion of her revenues, that they could not bring to the debate that impartiality which the matter required.—He faw, therefore, but one Perfon, in the whole nation, who could make the motion with proper dignity and would be favourably heard: that this perfon was Herfelf, who in this, as well as in all other points, had been blamelefs, and was appointed by Almighty God to defend both his caufe and her own: and that if her appearance in the lower Houfe was needful, he made no difficulty in advifing her to take that meafure.—He adds, fhe might communicate this refolution to a few of the Members, who had her confidence, and who might fecond the motion, and reprefent to both Houfes, that, under the name of obedience to the See of *Rome*, no foreign yoke was meant to be impofed on them; or any kind of fervitude, under

pretence

pretence of any utility: that the Biſhop of that See had no ſuch view; and, if he had, ſhe, the Queen, would never ſuffer it.—They may likewiſe add, ſays the CARDINAL, that, as this authority is to be acknowledged through my means, I will never agree to any deed, by which thraldom is brought on my Country; and they ſhall never be deceived by me. I would never have taken on me this negotiation but for the emolument of my Fellow-citizens; and that the papal Supremacy being admitted, may become ſalutary not only to this Nation, but, by their example, to others alſo, who have renounced it, and, by that defection, were fallen into great misfortunes.

" YOUR Majeſty, continues he, ſhould, at the ſame time, ſignify my having been appointed Legate from the holy See to yourſelf and the Kingdom: and, that in order to appear in this character, my attainder muſt be reverſed, and myſelf reſtored to blood, to my honours, and to my Country—She well knew, he ſays, the injuſtice done to him and his Family, which was dearer to him than himſelf—that nothing could be laid to his charge, which deſerved ſuch a treatment, and all his crime conſiſted in refuſing to conſent to innovations, which were prejudicial to the Realm, and detrimental to the Prince who introduced them—That, as theſe Penalties had been inflicted on him by the authority of Parliament, however contrary to their better judgment and inclination, they were obliged in conſcience and honour, to repeal them; eſpecially as he came a Meſſenger of reconciliation and peace—As a proof of the integrity of his intentions, he tells her, that though more wealth and honours had been conferred on him, during his baniſhment, than he deſired, or, had it been left to his own choice, would have accepted; yet, if he was ever found to have ſwerved from what he owed to God or his

Country,

Country, he was content to be banifhed for ever: but that, if the whole tenour of his conduct had hitherto proved the contrary, and that he had ferved the King, her Father, not only with the loyalty of a Subject, but with the obfequioufnefs of a Servant, and the affection of a Son; and had always endeavoured the real good of his Country, all this muft form a ftrong prefumption, that his difpofitions were ftill the fame.

"He defires her to weigh the difpleafure which any further delay in accepting thefe gracious overtures would give the Pope; and that the facred College could not but feel the indignity offered to themfelves, if one of their Body was hindered from proceeding on his Embaffy for fuch unfatisfactory reafons as had been hitherto alleged—That, in order to foften the offence, he had fignified to his Holinefs, that his journey was fufpended but for a fhort time, and till matters could be difpofed to a more eafy and happy conclufion: and, to confirm this report, had already fent before him part of his baggage to *Flanders*, and ordered fome of his Retinue to take the fame route, and wait for him.

"He adds, that as the Emperor had from the beginning been of opinion, that in what concerned Religion, and, namely, in renouncing the title of Supremacy, fhe fhould proceed with great caution, and not ftir in the bufinefs, till her temporal affairs were more fettled; he had endeavoured to let his Majefty fee, that all procraftination in this point was prejudical to herfelf and the Nation; and he refers her to the letters he had wrote to that Prince, by his Secretary *Pening*, of which he fent her Copies. He lets her know, he had prevailed on the Emperor's Confeffor, who was then with him, and whom he had found to be a perfon of great fanctity and knowledge, to repair to him, and entreat him by the regard he had to his

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laſt and important ſtake, to his reputation, and the affection he bore her Majeſty, to place himſelf above ſuch worldly and unbecoming fears: of which inſtructions he had likewiſe ſent her a Copy.

"THOUGH he teſtifies great ſatisfaction at the Acts of Parliament, by which *Catharine* of *Aragon*'s marriage was declared lawful; and the Statutes made in *Edward*'s reign to the prejudice of the Catholic Religion, were repealed; yet he obſerves they were deficient in very material Articles, which he ſpecifies at large. And becauſe great knowledge and accuracy were requiſite in what related to divine faith and worſhip; and few, in ſo general a defection, were qualified to indicate the whole extent of the Evil, or to apply a remedy; and it not being in his power to come in perſon, and give ſuch information as was neceſſary, he had ſent before him, into *Flanders*, among other perſons of rank, two very well qualified for this charge; with one of whom he had a long and intimate acquaintance, and thought himſelf poſſeſſed of a treaſure which few Princes were maſters of; and that the other had given him the higheſt ſatisfaction ever ſince he had engaged in his ſervice—That it depended on her Majeſty either to take their advice, or not; but, if ſhe did, it was proper it ſhould be known, they came on his part.

"HE concludes by obſerving the wonderful providence of God over her innocence, her ſafety, and her dignity; and exhorts her, in a very pathetic manner, to eſtabliſh the ancient doctrine, and aboliſh that Statute which had cauſed many ſpiritual and temporal Evils to the Kingdom, and had embroiled herſelf in much trouble, and endangered her crown *."

Dilingæ, 1ſt *Dec.* 1553.

THIS

* *Cot.* Lib. *Titus*, b. 2. Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4a, pag. 123.

THIS is the ſum of what the CARDINAL wrote to the Queen, both in the inſtructions ſent by *Godwell*, and in a letter, in which he recapitulates and inforces what he had largely dwelt on in the former. He ſent theſe diſpatches from *Dilingen*, where the Emperor, for reaſons I am about to relate, had detained him.

ENGLAND, ſince *Mary*'s acceſſion, was, on many accounts, become a deſirable prize; and the ſeveral Competitors had conſidered it in that light which ſuited the quality of their different pretenſions. The *Northumberland* and *Suffolk* families had conteſted the crown with the Princeſs, who was Heir to it: The ſwarms of foreign and domeſtic Sectaries, which, like Locuſts, covered this land of promiſe, endeavoured to withſtand the aſcendant which the ancient Faith every day gained; and now the Emperor looked on the Queen as the moſt deſirable match he could procure for his Son, *Philip* of *Spain*. This Prince, hackneyed in the ways of ambition, and the luſt of extent of ſway, had not been inattentive to the incident of *Edward*'s death, and the acceſſion of a Sovereign no leſs connected to his family by affection than blood. His power, which had received great checks from *Maurice*, Elector of *Saxony*; and, very lately, from the Duke of *Guiſe*, who obliged him to raiſe the ſiege of *Metz*, 1552.
and retire with the remains of an army of above 100,000 men, had ſhewn him the vanity of that deſtructive glory which is purchaſed by the ſword, and been an uſeful leſſon to thoſe Diſturbers of Mankind, whom we abſurdly dignify with the appellation of Heroes. He was deſirous to compenſate this reverſe of fortune in the decline of life, by an acquiſition which the preſent ſtate of *England* ſeemed to aſſure to him.

ON this account, he was no ſooner informed of the late King's death, but he put every courtly

art in practice to avail himſelf of it. He conjectured, that the Spaniſh alliance would be ungrateful to the Engliſh nation; and that, if a reconciliation with the See of *Rome* was attempted at the ſame time, they would be ſtill more averſe to it: and, therefore, he either brought over the Queen to think that the CARDINAL's appearance, at that juncture, was unſeaſonable, and would prove prejudicial to her affairs; or he confirmed her in this opinion. With the ſame view, when *Commendon* ſet out for *England*, he was inſtructed to propoſe his Son's match to the Queen, in a private audience: to obſerve how the People were affected to her and the Catholic religion, and to magnify, on his return to *Rome*, the danger of ſending, as yet a Legate. He was not without ſome uneaſineſs, leſt the ſingular affection the queen bore the CARDINAL, and the general eſteem he was held in by the Nation, might determine the choice ſhe was to make of a Huſband, in his favour: and ſhe had been known to aſk, if he might not be diſpenſed with the Deaconſhip, as he was not in Prieſt's orders. He apprehended him to coincide with the Nation's ſentiment in a diſlike of a foreign alliance, and he had gained over *Gardiner* to his intereſt. This Stateſman was too well acquainted with the Queen's diſpoſitions not to know, that, on the CARDINAL's arrival, he muſt reſign the firſt place at the Council board, which he then held. Perhaps, likewiſe, he might perſuade himſelf, (as nothing obliges us to refer every thing to ſelfiſh conſiderations) that, if his journey was put off, the Queen's popularity, which was viſible from the ſucceſs ſhe had hitherto met with in whatever ſhe had undertaken, would in time wear away the prejudices with which a cauſeleſs hatred of the See of *Rome* had prepoſſeſſed the minds of the Engliſh; and, if the Spaniſh marriage was concluded before any further ſteps were

were taken towards a reconciliation with the Pontiff, the weight of ſuch a connection would enable her to effect it with greater eaſe.

THESE reaſons determined the Emperor, at all events, to hinder the CARDINAL from proceeding on his journey to *England:* and, in order to remove from himſelf the ſuſpicion of being a party in any deſign which concerned Religion, though in his way to *England*, he was charged to negotiate a peace between the Courts of *Madrid* and *Paris*, he refuſed to admit him to his preſence.

IN the mean time, the LEGATE had entered the *Tyrol*, without any miſtruſt of the obſtacles which were prepared to every purpoſe of his journey. At *Trent* he was received with great magnificence, and every demonſtration of eſteem and good will by Cardinal *Madruccio*, Biſhop and Prince of that City, who, in the late Conclave, had promoted his election to the Papacy, with a ſteadineſs that nothing could ſhake. From hence he diſpatched *Parapalia* and *Floribello* to the French King and the Emperor, to give them notice of his ſpeedy arrival at their reſpective Courts, in order to effectuate, on the part of the Pope, a peace, which had been attempted ſo often, and to ſo little effect. *Parapalia* was a perſon of great ſkill and experience, and whom the LEGATE had made uſe of in former negotiations: and *Floribello*, who was one of his Secretaries, had a diſtinguiſhed rank among the polite Writers of that Claſſic age; and how well he deſerved it, his hiſtory of *Sadolet*'s life, and ſome other works, are ſtill a proof *.

FROM *Trent* the LEGATE ſet out for *Auſburg*, and

* Hic *Floribellus* tum *Polo* ab epiſtolis erat; nunc eſt *Lavellinus* Epiſcopus, et à brevibus, ut vocant, Pontificis Maximi; Vir cum omni elegantiore doctrinâ perpolitus, tum verò ſummâ latine ſcribendi facultate et eloquentiâ præditus. Vita *Poli*, fol. 23.

and being within two days journey of that City, was met on the part of the Cardinal Biſhop, who invited him to *Dilingen*, a town in the Circle of *Suabia*, and ſituated on the *Danube*; and where he had, a few years before, founded an Univerſity, and then kept his reſidence. He was received, in all the places through which he paſſed, with the ſame honours he had met with at *Trent* *, and having made ſome ſtay with his munificent friend, he ſet out again for *Flanders*, though in the depth of winter, and a very ſevere ſeaſon. As he was making all the expedition which the circumſtances would admit, he was met on the road by *Mendoza*, one of the Emperor's Miniſters, and who had formerly been his Ambaſſador at *Venice*, who delivered to him the following meſſage: "That it would be highly agreeable to his Imperial Majeſty, if he would not proceed any further on his journey; as this delay was conducive to the happy iſſue of the affair, on which he came: that notice ſhould be given him, when a more favourable opportunity preſented itſelf; and in the mean time, if he did not chuſe to return to *Italy*, he might go to *Liege*; but was to remain there, and wait the Emperor's pleaſuer, as to the purſuit of his journey.

Otho Truſches.

in 1549.

A LESS delicate ſenſe of honour than the LEGATE's would have been more than ſufficient to make him feel the indignity of this proceeding; but, as it was in vain to contend, he judged it moſt adviſeable to go back to *Dilingen*, and from thence inform the Pope of what had happened. At the ſame time he expoſtulated with the Emperor, by letter, "how unbecoming it was, that

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* Cùm audiſſes me *Auguſta* bidui iter abeſſe, tuos mihi obviam miſiſti, qui me, per caſtella et vicos tuos, omni officii genere perſequentes, *Dilingam* ad te deducerent. *R. Poli* Epiſtolæ, pars 4a, pag. 150.

a LEGATE of the holy See, who was ſent on a negotiation of peace, and on other concerns of the moſt intereſting nature, ſhould be forbid acceſs to his perſon, and be ſtopped in the very heart of *Germany*: that ſuch a Scene could not but be very pleaſing to the Abettors of the new opinions, under whoſe eyes it paſſed; nor fail, in *England*, where it would be ſoon reported, to ſpirit up the Adverſaries of the ancient religion: he therefore, entreated his Majeſty to permit him to come immediately, and remove an obſtacle no leſs diſreſpectful to the holy See, than prejudicial to the purpoſes of his Embaſſy. But *Charles* was deaf to any remonſtrances beſides thoſe of intereſt and ambition, and refuſed to ſee the LEGATE, or even to give him leave to come nearer to *Bruſſels*, where he then kept his Court, till his Son's marriage with the Queen was concluded. —So great was his jealouſy of the LEGATE's diſapprobation of the Spaniſh match, and his deſign to divert the Queen from any thoughts of it, that he prevailed on Lord *Paget* and *Maſon*, the Engliſh Ambaſſadors at his Court, to cauſe one of his Domeſtics, who had been waiting for his Lord a month at *Lovain*, to leave the place *.

THE Pope having received intelligence of the Emperor's proceeding towards the LEGATE, ſignified to him " the concern he was under at the difficulties which were raiſed againſt the diſcharge of his embaſſy, and the obſtacles put to his journey, to the deſigns of the holy See, and to the public good.—That, on this account, he allowed him to lay aſide, for a time, as he ſhould judge proper, his public Character, and go over to *England* as a private perſon: and when the ſituation of affairs permitted it, to reſume again his quality of Legate, and exerciſe all the functions annexed

* Negotiations des *Noailles*, tom. 2, pag. 244.

ed to it, ſo as as neither to bring any detriment to his own perſon, nor yet to want authority when he acted for the Public *.

8th *Dec.* 1553.

DURING this debate, the point which was to reſolve it, had been decided in *England.* The Queen's marriage was looked on as neceſſary to the public welfare and tranquillity; and, in a public ſpeech, which I ſhall have occaſion to cite, and in which ſhe ſeems to deliver her ſentiments very ingenuouſly, ſhe ſays, ſhe had taken the reſolution of marrying, in deference to the advice of the Council. The only thing, therefore, under deliberation was the perſon on whom the choice was to fall. There were Three, between whom the general voice ſeemed divided, *Courtney*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, CARDINAL POLE, and *Philip*, Heir to *Charles* V. Prince of *Spain:* but *Courtney*'s good mien ſeems to have been his principal recommendation; and CARDINAL POLE, with an infirm ſtate of health, was in the decline of life. The Emperor, as has been ſaid, had engaged *Gardiner*, who was chief of the Council, in *Philip*'s favour, and had lately remitted a vaſt ſum to purchaſe the concurrence of others, who might promote the ſame meaſure. The Queen's affection for her Mother's family, which ſhe inherited from that Princeſs, who had always bore a ſingular love to her Nephew *Charles*, *Philip*'s father, influenced the Daughter's choice, and gave *Gardiner* an opportunity of paying his Court to her, at the ſame time that he ſeconded the Emperor's deſigns. *Philip* was a Widower, had one Son by a former Wife, and was eleven years younger than the Queen who was eight and thirty. She may, likewiſe, be ſuppoſed to have conſidered the great foreign ſtrength which this alliance brought with it, as an earneſt

He was 53 years old.

400,000 crowns.

* *R. Poli* Epiſ. pars 4a, p. 432.

earneſt of her future tranquillity, and what would either prevent or ſuppreſs thoſe domeſtic diſturbances to which ſhe had hitherto been ſo much expoſed.

THESE reaſons had not the ſame weight with the Nation as with the Sovereign, and the general ſenſe of the people was againſt the match. The Commons, as ſoon as it was known that *Gardiner* had propoſed it in Council, had deputed a ſolemn Committee to the Queen, to remonſtrate againſt a meaſure which they looked on as dangerous to the State: and the apprehenſions of being embroiled in all the quarrels of *Spain*, and becoming, at length, a Province to that Kingdom, might give very well-grounded alarms. *Gardiner*, therefore, gave the Emperor to underſtand, that beſides the influence of Spaniſh gold, every other means muſt be employed to remove the odium under which the marriage treaty lay? and, accordingly, ſuch Articles were agreed on as might calm all fears of its conſequences, and ſeemed calculated for the ſecurity, the intereſt, and even the grandeur of *England* *: they were ſigned and ratified by Count *Egmont*, and four other Ambaſſadors, whom the Emperor had ſent over for that purpoſe. Both houſes of Parliament aproved of them by every expreſſion which could denote a ſenſe of the advantages which accrued to the Queen and the Realm †.

14th *Jan.* 1554.

5th *April.*

THE ſatisfaction the Queen had felt on carrying a point of ſuch conſequence with the conſent of the Legiſlature, was heightened by the facility with which the Statute, which repealed whatever had been enacted in *Edward*'s reign againſt

* They may be ſeen in *Rymer*, vol. xv. pag. 377; and in the Statutes, I. *Mariæ* Parl. 2, cap. 2.

† *Ibid.*

the Catholic Religion, was brought into practice; as this seemed to indicate the general disposition
Aug. 5th, 1553. of the People. Bishop *Bonner* being reinstated in the See of *London*, had celebrated Mass, a few days after, and continued to perform the whole divine Office, according to the use of the Church of *Rome*; and *Thorden*, Subdean of *Canterbury*, had caused the same to be performed there.
Aug. 27th. Soon after, Orders were given to use the Roman
Dec. 20th. Ritual throughout the whole Kingdom. This was a consequence of the Statute I have mentioned, which ordered Religious Worship to be recalled to the form it had at *Henry* the VIIIth's death *, at which time the Liturgy was the same as before his breach with the Church of *Rome*; the Innovations which the Parliament now abolished having been introduced under *Edward*.

THIS re-establishment of the ancient Worship, though enacted by the whole legislative authority, gave occasion to a Rebellion, which, as it always happens when such attempts fail of success, only strengthened that Government it was designed to overthrow. Sir *Thomas Wyat*, son to him, who, when he was *Henry*'s Ambassador in *Spain*, would have murthered CARDINAL POLE, was at the head of the Rebels, and proposed to raise the Kentish men, while Sir *Peter Carew*, his principal Associate, did the like in *Devonshire*. The Duke of *Suffolk*, was prevailed on to join them, from a prospect of reviving his Daughter the Lady *Jane Gray*'s claim to the crown. The Queen, on the first notice of the rising, shewed the same presence of mind she had made appear at her accession; and delivered herself to the Citizens of *London*, in a speech which I presume must please the Reader, as it is

* Anno I. *Mariæ*, Sess. 2. cap. 2.

is equal to any recorded by the Greek or Roman Hiſtorians, to have been ſpoken on the like occaſions. She begins " by informing them of the rebellion; the pretence of which, ſhe ſays, was a diſlike of her intended marriage with *Philip* of *Spain*: that the Rebels had the inſolence to demand the government of her Royal Perſon, the cuſtody of the Tower, and the appointing her Council.—She reminds her loving Subjects, that ſhe was their Sovereign, to whom they had lately ſworn allegiance, at her Coronation; on which day ſhe was wedded to the Realm; and the Ring, which ſhe then wore, and would ever wear, was the ſolemn Pledge of this mutual Covenant between Her and her People.—That her right by inheritance was known and acknowledged by all Chriſtendom.—That, though not having been a Mother, ſhe had not felt the tenderneſs which that relation brings with it; yet, if a like affection was ever found in a Prince towards his People, ſhe gave them her Royal word, they ſhould experience it from her.—She informs them her intended marriage was reſolved on by the advice of the Council, who had judged it honourable and expedient both to the dignity of the Crown, and the emolument of the Kingdom.—That, as to herſelf, neither an inclination to Wedlock in general, nor a fondneſs for any particular perſon, had influenced her in this determination. That ſhe had hitherto continued a Maid; and doubted not, through God's grace, to have remained ſo; but had been determined in this affair by the deſire of leaving an Heir to the Crown, as her Forefathers had done: and could ſhe foreſee this engagement would not redound to the honour and advantage of the Realm, ſhe would never conſent to it: and, as a proof of her ſincerity, ſhe gave them the word of a Queen, that, if her

Commons, and the Nobility were of a different opinion, ſhe would abſtain from marriage as long as ſhe lived.—She concludes with encouraging them to be as fearleſs on the occaſion of this Rebellion, as ſhe was; and tells them, the Lord *Howard*, and the Lord Treaſurer would aſſiſt the Mayor in the defence of the City *.

Sir *Peter Carew* was the firſt of the Accomplices who appeared in arms, and being ſoon ſuppreſſed by the Earl of *Bedford*, fled to *France*. The Duke of *Norfolk*, and Sir *Henry Jernigan*, were ſent againſt *Wyat*; but 500 Londoners having deſerted from the latter, and joined the Rebels, the Duke retired, and took ſhelter in *London*. This ſucceſs encouraged *Wyat* to march to *Southwark*; but finding the bridge ſecured, and the City not diſpoſed to declare for him, he led his forces, which conſiſted of 4,000 men, to *Kingſton*; and returning back towards *London*, though he entered *Weſtminſter* without oppoſition, his Followers perceiving they were not joined by any perſons of note, left their Leader to his ill-fated deſtiny, and Sir *Maurice Berkeley* ſeized
6th *Feb.* him near *Temple-bar*. The Duke of *Suffolk*,
1554. who with his Brothers, the Lords *Thomas* and *Leonard Gray*, had endeavoured to raiſe the Counties of *Warwick* and *Leiceſter*, where their intereſt lay, were taken by the Earl of *Huntingdon*, at the head of 300 Horſe, and led Priſoners to *London*; where with *Wyat* and ſome of the chief Authors of the Rebellion, they were condemned and executed.

The guilt of the Duke brought on the puniſhment of his Daughter, the Lady *Jane*, which his ambition had firſt cauſed her to incur. The ſentence had been put off above half a year, and, probably, would never have been executed, had not

* *Fox*, Acts and Monuments, vol. 2, pag. 1418.

not theſe laſt treaſonable practices made the Government apprehend She would always be a pretext for turbulent Spirits to riſe againſt their lawful Sovereign, and diſturb the peace of theCommunity. Theſe circumſtances, which were to be imputed to the crimes and temerity of others, not to her own blameleſs character, cauſed her to experience a ſeverity which all the perſonal merit that pleaded in her favour, could not avert. No part of the late conſpiracy was imputed to her, but ſhe ſtood legally convicted, and was under ſentence of death for aſſuming Royalty at *Edward*'s death.

THE ſentence being intimated to her, ſhe ſaid, " ſhe had deſerved it, for uſurping a Crown which belonged to another; but, at the ſame time, ſhe related the little ſhare ſhe had in that tranſaction, and the conſtraint put on her by her family: that, it was no eaſy matter for a perſon ſo young as ſhe was, to withſtand the authority of a Father and a Huſband, and of ſo many of the Nobility: and it would be her peculiar fate, to be juſtly condemned, and yet die innocent." Her Huſband, who lay under the ſame ſentence, ſent to deſire he might give her the laſt aſſurances of his tenderneſs; to which ſhe anſwered, " that ſuch endearments did not ſuit their preſent ſituation, and would but encreaſe their affliction; and wiſhed him to call off his affections from this world, and fix them on a better, where they ſhould ſhortly meet to be ſeparated no more." To great beauty, and all the ſofter accompliſhments of female education, ſhe had joined the knowledge of the learned languages, and had given much time and application to the Scriptures: a Study, which, however undertaken by the Sex on a ſpecious principle of ſeeking Truth, but too often betrays them into errors, or confirms them in thoſe they

have already imbibed. The Queen having appointed a very able and religious Clergyman to attend her in her confinement, and uſe all endeavours to convince her of the truth of the Catholic doctrine; the kindneſs, ſhe ſaid, came too late, and that ſhe had not leiſure to enquire after that Truth which ſhe ſhould ſoon behold in its Source: and, though her execution was put off, ſome days, on that proſpect, ſhe perſiſted in the ſame ſentiments. The Conſtable of the Tower, who led her to the Scaffold, aſking of her the book of devotions ſhe held in her hand, ſhe readily gave it him, after having firſt tranſcribed out of it, in Greek, Latin, and Engliſh, a ſentence which imported that ſhe died innocent, and hoped to find that juſtice from God, which had been denied her by Men. Being come to the place of execution, ſhe looked with a placid countenance on the Crowd that ſtood round, and ſpoke no more than to bid them farewell, and be mindful of her innocence: and taking the Prieſt, who ſtill continued his exhortations, by the hand, ſhe thanked him for the many good offices ſhe had received from him, and the concern he had expreſſed to bring her over to his opinion, as ſhe very well knew he had proceeded on the beſt of motives: but told him withal, that his diſcourſes had given her greater uneaſineſs than the apprehenſion of what ſhe was about to ſuffer. Then kneeling down before the Axe, and covering her Face with her hair, ſhe received the ſtroke which ſevered her head from her body. The ſighs, the tears, and mournful ſilence of the Beholders, ſufficiently witneſſed what their ſentiments were of the circumſtances of her death, and of the decent and ſteady manner with which ſhe ſubmitted to it.

Sir *John Gage*.

CARDINAL POLE was ſtill at *Delingen* when the

the Articles of the Queen's marriage were agreed to, and the Rebellion I have ſpoken of, ſuppreſſed: and he availed himſelf of theſe incidents to prevail on the Emperor to permit him to have acceſs to his perſon, and to put no further obſtacle to his proceeding on his journey to *England:* for ſince *Mary* had entertained thoughts of marrying *Philip*, *Charles* had made her enter into his own jealouſies and ſuſpicions of the LEGATE's ſpeedy arrival, and began to preſs it with leſs earneſtneſs. With this view the LEGATE ſent *Peter Soto*, who had formerly been *Charles*'s Confeſſor, and was now at the head of a Seminary at *Delingen*, "to entreat him not to put any further delay to an Embaſſy which was undertaken on no other motives but thoſe of Religion and Peace: and to which the obſtacles put on the Emperor's part, muſt redound greatly to his diſhonour, to the detriment of the common cauſe, and of *England* in particular:" And the Emperor, who had now no longer any reaſon to caution himſelf againſt the offence the Engliſh might take at his receiving the LEGATE, conſented to his coming to *Bruſſels*, and received him on his arrival, with great ſhew of 18th *Jan.* eſteem and affection.

THE Queen, ſome time before, had conſulted the LEGATE, how ſhe was to act with reſpect to the vacant Biſhopricks; as ſhe foreſaw ſhe ſhould be obliged to deprive ſeveral who then held them, of their Sees; and ſhe did not intend, in the choice ſhe was to make, either to give up any rights of the crown, or extend the prerogative, and derogate from the authority which the holy See had enjoyed in thoſe collations, before the Nation's breach with the Church of *Rome*. The CARDINAL had replied, "that the bearer of his letter, from the long and frequent conferences he had with him on this head, knew his

mind ſo thoroughly, that there was no need of any written inſtructions, but he would inform her by word of mouth. About this time, therefore, the Queen iſſued out a Commiſſion*, by which all the married Clergy were deprived of their benefices, as being diſqualified to poſſeſs them. This inability, as extraordinary as it may now appear, was founded on the conſtant practice of the Weſtern Church, ever ſince the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity; on the unanimous authority of the Canons, and the ſolemn engagement to Celebacy the Clergy take at their ordination; on the fourth of *Henry* VIIIth's ſix Articles, which the Parliament had paſſed into a Law, and which the late Statute, which recalled all religious matters to their condition at that Prince's death, had ratified; which made this Injunction as legal and parliamentary, as it was juſt and canonical. In conſequence of theſe orders, *Holgate*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Biſhops of St. *David*'s, *Cheſter*, and *Briſtol*, who had been Regulars, and, beſides the promiſe made at their ordination, had broke the ſolemn vows made on entering on a Religious ſtate, and thoſe of *Glouceſter* and *Hereford*, who were of the ſecular Clergy, were deprived; *Scory* and *Barlow*, Biſhops of *Chicheſter* and *Bath*, who were in the ſame caſe, left the Kingdom †.---The Queen,

15th and 16th *Mar.*

* Rot. par. 1°. *Mar.* pars 7ª, and another tranſlated by Bp. *Burnet*, part 2, b. 2. pag. 257. of his Hiſt. of the Reformation.

† It may not be diſagreeable to the Reader to have ſome account of the chief of theſe depoſed Biſhops, as it is given by Proteſtant Hiſtorians.

Holgate, Archbiſhop of *York*, not only made uſe of the indulgent doctrine, which, in *Edward*'s reign, allowed the Clergy to marry, but extended the licence to take another man's Wife. *Collier*, Eccl. Hiſt. vol. 2, b. 5, p. 349.

Robert Farrar was, firſt, Chaplain to *Cranmer*; and, then, by the Protector *Seymour*'s favour, promoted to the Biſhoprick of St. *David*'s; but, on that Nobleman's fall, fifty-ſix Articles

Queen, ſoon after ſignified to the Pope, the con- 16th *April.*
currence of the Legiſlature, in what ſhe had done 1554.
towards the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient worſhip: and the qualities of the Perſons ſhe had
made choice of for the vacated Sees; and the 10th *July.*
Pontiff, in his anſwer, congratulates her on the firſt part of the intelligence; and, in the accuſtomed ſtyle of the Court of *Rome*, lets her know he ſhould ſhortly ſend the Letters Patent, in virtue of which the Biſhops were to be conſecrated, and put in poſſeſſion of their reſpective Biſhopricks *. With what diſcernment the choice of thoſe who were

Articles were exhibited againſt him, for which he was confined during the remainder of *Edward's* reign; and now degraded. Ath. *Oxon.* p. 679.

John Bird, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, was a Carmelite Frier, and for his obſequiouſneſs to the Court meaſures at the diſſolution of the Monaſteries, and a remarkable ſermon in ſupport of the Lay Supremacy, was promoted to a See in *Ireland*; from whence he was tranſlated to *Bangor*, and in 1541 to *Cheſter*. He went all the length's of *Henry's* and *Edward's* reigns, and made uſe of the indulgence which the latter allowed of taking a wife. Being deprived of his Biſhoprick, he lived privately at *Cheſter*, till his death in 1556. *Bale* cent. 11, No. 41. *Pitts*, de Illuſ. Ang. Scrip. *Godwin*, de Præſul. *Ang.*

Paul Buſh, Biſhop of *Briſtol*, was an Auguſtine Frier, and had been Chaplain to *Henry* VIII, who promoted him to that See, for his compliance with the Court meaſures. But though he betrayed the ſame paſſive diſpoſition during *Edward's* reign, and took a wife, he was never known either to preach or write againſt the ancient Religion. He readily gave up his Biſhoprick at the Queen's command; and parted from his wife, and lived privately in *Briſtol* till his death, in 1558. *Godwin* de *Præſul. Ang. Ath. Oxon.*

William Barlow, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, was a Canon Regular, and very active both in promoting the diſſolution of Religious Houſes in *Henry's* reign; and forwarding the various innovations of *Edward's*. Being deprived of his Biſhoprick on account of marriage, he fled to *Germany*. *Godwin*, de *Præſul. Angl.* *Athen. Oxon. vol.* 1, pag. 156.

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 4ª, pag. 435.

were nominated to the vacant Sees was made, and how deſervedly thoſe who had been deprived in the late reigns, for non-compliance, were now reinſtated, the event verified: for, on the Queen's death, when the Catholic Religion was again proſcribed, *Kitchen*, Biſhop of *Landaff*, who, *Proteus* like, had put on all the forms of Religion of the three laſt reigns, was the only one of that venerable bench who ſubmitted to this change. Neither loſs of wealth and dignity, nor the hardſhips of priſon and baniſhment, ſhook their firmneſs: and Dr. *Heath*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and Chancellor, at the opening of the firſt Parliament under *Elizabeth*, made a diſcourſe on that Princeſs's ſupremacy, which for clearneſs and ſolidity may vie with any of the pleadings of *Tully* or *Demoſthenes* *.

On a ſuppoſition that *Holgate*'s errors and ſcandalous life had vacated his See; and, in this caſe, that the right of appointing a Succeſſor was devolved to the pope, the Pontiff had been applied to. On this, the Legate, who had intelligence of it, wrote to him in the following manner. I ſhall content myſelf with giving the reader the ſubſtance of his letter, as I have met with nothing elſe that throws any light on this dark tranſaction. He begins "by thanking his Holineſs for the hopes he had given him of ſeeing an offence ceaſe, which had been cauſed by the ambition of one who gave himſelf out for an Engliſhman. There are many reaſons, ſays he, which make me deſire that a deſign, which has its origin in craft and ambition, ſhould meet with diſappointment; but none more prevalent, than a perſuaſion, that, if this inſidious manner of proceeding has ſucceſs, there

* Hiſt. Col. pag. 225. In the Original, this Speech is ſtyled, *A tale told in Parliament*.

there is hardly any thing can more alienate the minds of the Engliſh, who yet retain a reſpect for your Holineſs; of whom, I make no doubt, there are great numbers, though they want reſolution to declare themſelves. They will be caſt into utter deſpair of ever receiving any comfort from the Apoſtolic See, if their chief Biſhopricks, and particularly that which borders on *Scotland*, with which Kingdom we are almoſt perpetually at war, are given away at the recommendation of the Scotch. I am particularly offended that this Candidate ſhould overlook all conſiderations of the public good, and addreſs himſelf, in a petition fraught with falſehood, firſt to your Holineſs, and then to the ſacred College, and endeavour, by ſo much ſubterfuge, to avoid the Certificates of his own Countrymen; if, as he ſays, he is a Native of *England*; which I muſt doubt, and imagine all this to be no more than a contrivance to thruſt himſelf into a dignity, to which the natural-born Subjects of the Realm have a much better claim *." There is no further mention of this affair, which muſt be looked on as perſonal to his character, to whom it is imputed; but cannot without great malignity, be perverted into a national reflection.

He had not been long at *Bruſſels* before the Emperor gave him to underſtand, he could not conſent to his going to *England* till his Son's marriage with the Queen was over; and deſired him to ſuſpend his journey. The reader has been already informed, that beſides the Legate's primary Embaſſy to the Queen and the Engliſh Nation, he was charged with another to the Emperor and the French King, in order to put an end to a long and deſtructive war between thoſe two powers, and bring about a reconciliation, which

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ª, pag. 41.

which the Cardinals of *Imola* and St. *George* had in vain endeavoured, and had been recalled. He made uſe, therefore, of the leiſure he now had to diſcharge the ſecond part of his commiſſion; and began the overtures of what might advance ſo ſalutary a deſign, at the Court where he yet was. The Emperor ſeemed to hear with approbation what the LEGATE's prudence ſuggeſted on that head; and anſwered, he was not averſe to peace, if honourable conditions were propoſed, and ſuch as would procure a laſting concord: but that no negotiation could be ſet on foot, till the intentions of the French King were known *; on which the LEGATE ſet out for that Court.

WHILST he was on the road, he drew up the chief reaſons which ſhould prevail on the two Potentates to conclude a peace. This Diſcourſe, which is long, and wrote in Italian, he propoſed to leave with each of them. I ſhall give the Reader a ſummary of the moſt material Articles, as they diſcover the profound reflections the Author made on human Events, and the diſtinct and comprehenſive view in which he conſidered what he took in hand.

"HE deſires theſe Princes, in the firſt place, to rank themſelves in the number of thoſe who look on war as a calamity; and a return of peace, as the greateſt bleſſing which could befall the afflicted ſtate of Chriſtianity; and, therefore, to aſk it of that Being, who alone could diſpenſe it, ſo as to be ſalutary to themſelves and their kingdoms.—He, then, deſires them to conſider the cauſes which had hindered their former treaties from being of longer duration; and to avoid hereafter, the ſame obſtacles: and in order to attain this knowledge, they were to weigh the condition and form of theſe treaties, the manner of making them, their beginning and concluſion.

* Vita *Poli*, fol. 24, à tergo.

conclusion.—That they would perceive nothing, which moves Princes to make peace, and which human sagacity and industry could foresee and lay hold of, had been omitted on either side to bring them to a reconciliation.—The first of these motives, which is generally drawn from the exhausted state of the hostile powers, had often been their case.—A second inducement to peace, when one of the powers at war was so much superior, as to have his adversary at his mercy, had not been wanting to the Emperor's good fortune with respect to *Francis* I, and seemed to promise an end to all future contention.—A third surety of concord had likewise been pledged by each of them, when, forgetting their past animosities, they voluntarily united in mutual peace, at the treaty of *Aigues Mortes.* Yet all these assurances were so far from being succeeded by a firm and lasting concord, that they only seemed calculated to make the flame of war break out again with greater rage: and this had happened not from any inability in the Negotiators, but from want of good faith, and those dispositions without which peace is not brought about. These treaties, therefore, like the buildings mentioned by the Prophet, which are not compacted with proper cement, but only plastered over to the eye, had fallen to pieces almost as soon as they were raised; and the contracting Parties had not only received no advantage from them, but great detriment, and, during these intervals, had been set on contriving mischief to one another, more than in time of war.

" He then comes to the constant disappointment which their mutual ambition had met with; since neither of them had obtained, through such a length of contention, either the honours or the increase of dominion which had been the object of such lasting strife. Every thing on the contrary, had fallen out against their expectation;

tion; and when contention ceafed, the emoluments which were propofed from amity, had not followed; and contention and agreement had been equally unavailing to the defired end. — That the Emperor might be fatisfied of this if he reflected, not only on the fituation of his affairs within thefe three or four laft years he had been at war with the prefent King; but called to remembrance the events of *Henry* II. thirty years paft or more, fince thefe calamities began; and the almoft perpetual ftate of hoftility he had been in with *Francis* his Father. During which time, though there had been feveral conventions of peace; yet as they had not been attended, on either fide, with fincerity, all that fpace was to be accounted a time of open or hidden war, rather than of peace.

"Now, if they would confider what acquifition they had made by fuch an expence of men and money, they would find themfelves not only to have failed of what they aimed at, but to have expofed the Chriftian caufe to great peril.— *Solyman*, by thefe proceedings, was become Mafter of two of the bulwarks of Chriftianity, *Belgrade*, and the Ifland of *Rhodes*: he had laid *Hungary* wafte, as far as *Buda*, and conquered that long tract of Provinces, which is watered by the *Danube*. *Italy*, on both fides, was expofed to the infult of his fleets; the *Mediterranean* and *Adriatic* Seas infefted by them; and, had it not pleafed the Divine Providence to check his progrefs by the Emperor of *Perfia*, there was nothing he might not have promifed himfelf from our difagreements; and had, as things were, compenfated his loffes in the Eaft, by what he had gained on us.

"If it be replied, that, notwithftanding thefe loffes, you have made yourfelves amends by adding feveral cities and provinces to your former dominions;

dominions; the anſwer is ready, that, if the ſums employed in making and ſecuring theſe acquiſitions be taken into the account, together with the wretched condition of theſe conquered ſtates, you will be found, to have purchaſed no more than a ſlender appearance of utility, at the hazard of general deſtruction.

"THAT the Emperor could not imagine the ſignal favours, by which Providence had diſtinguiſhed him, were deſigned for ſuch purpoſes.—That, when he was born, *Philip* his Father was not King of *Spain*; nor would, afterwards, have been ſo, had not the death of the next in blood made room for him: nor was the French King the next Heir to the Crown: much leſs his Father *Francis*.—That, they might both learn from the fortune which had attended their reſpective families, they held their Kingdoms of Almighty God, by a peculiar tenure: and, if they ſtood in need of any other inſtructer concerning Providence, their own experience might inform them.—That, though the Emperor's dominions were larger than thoſe of the French King; yet *France* was a more compact ſtate, and the ready obedience of the Inhabitants gave the Sovereign an advantage which the other wanted. Notwithſtanding which, *Francis* I. a youthful Monarch, who had a powerful army of veteran troops, and the means to ſupport them, and had availed himſelf of this circumſtance, and invaded the Emperor's hereditary provinces with a formidable force, was ſo far from obtaining the victory he had promiſed himſelf, that he loſt *Savoy*, which he had lately, with ſo much glory, overcome.

"ON the other hand, the Emperor's diſappointment had been ſo much the more ſenſible, as the greater number of his troops, and the abundance of all thoſe aids by which war is carried on, ſeemed to give him a more aſſured confi-

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dence of ſucceſs. After the taking of *Tunis*, he ſailed from *Africa* to the coaſt of *Provence*, with a numerous Hoſt, and at a time when the French King was, on all accounts, unprepared to make head againſt him; yet, there, he met with a defeat; as he did again, when, having conquered the Duke of *Cleves*, who had joined the French, and was eſteemed the great ſupport of that Nation, every thing elſe ſeemed eaſy: yet here a town, on the frontiers of *France*, of ſmall ſtrength, and whoſe name is hardly known, checked this progreſs, and put an end to the war. And, afterwards, when the Emperor, in league with the King of *England*, made another attack on the French territories, it had not the event which was expected.—Theſe leſſons, he ſays, were ſufficient to inform them, they had not received ſuch extent of dominion to annoy and haraſs one another, but to look on themſelves as Patrons of Juſtice, and Miniſters of Clemency.—He concludes, by placing before their eyes the Evils, for which they are accountable to an all-knowing and inexorable Judge; and ſhewing, that their examination will be ſo much the more rigorous than that of private perſons, as they will not be charged with their own perſonal failings alone, but with the miſdemeanors of thoſe who have governed ill under their authority.—That, if ambition had been the real motive of their wars, whatever others were pretended, it would be ſo far from alleviating their guilt, that they would undergo the puniſhment due to that variety of miſchiefs, of which war was the cauſe; and if the leaſt of theſe, when perpetrated by private perſons, and tried at a human bar, were deemed unworthy of mercy, how would their caſe be at a higher and more awful Tribunal? That, to ſum up all he would ſay; the whole affair of peace, now in debate, did not ſo much de-

pend on the conditions to be agreed on, which might be as eaſily broken as they were made; as on the diſpoſitions the contracting parties bore each other, when they made the treaty. If they really intended the public utility, an equitable accommodation might ſoon be found; but if ſelfiſhneſs and private ends were the ſtandard of the negotiation, though contention ceaſed and an end was put to the war, the peace, nevertheleſs, would not be to their advantage, nor that of the Public, but a beginning to more miſchievous quarrels than thoſe it ſeemed to conclude *."

THERE are ſeveral pathetic addreſſes to both the Princes, thro' the whole diſcourſe; and he repreſents the obligation they lay under of cauſing the Evils to ceaſe, which afflicted *Europe*, and particularly their own Subjects, in every light it can be conſidered.

THE LEGATE arrived at the French Court in the laſt week of Lent; and the King having ſignified to him, that he could not have Audience till the ſolemnity of thoſe days was over, he took that opportunity of ſending his Majeſty the diſcourſe on Peace, which he had juſt finiſhed; and, by a letter, wrote on that purpoſe entreated him to weigh the arguments it contained. Being, afterwards, admitted to Audience, he urged the reconciliation he came to negotiate, from ſuch Principles as were drawn from his ſkill in public affairs, and the goodneſs of his own heart; and ſuch as became his high birth and the dignity of his character. He repeated them to the Cardinal of *Lorrain* and the Lord High Conſtable, who were the Favorites, and the chief Miniſters; but all to as little purpoſe, as the former attempts, which had been made to gain the ſame end.

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 4ª, pag. 402.

On his leaving the Court, the King ſignified in public his great regard for him, and the regret he had of being ſo late acquainted with his merit; adding, that had he known him when *Paul* III. died, no one elſe ſhould have had his intereſt and recommendation for the Papacy *.

In his return to *Bruſſels*, as he approached the confines of the French and Auſtrian territories, he was witneſs of the ſad effects of war, which had been chiefly felt in thoſe places, where the very earth ſeemed to ſmoak, and every thing wore the face of miſery and devaſtation. Though his Embaſſy had not mitigated the hoſtile diſpoſitions of the King of *France* towards the Emperor, yet he had not left his Court without ſome ſlender hopes of an enſuing accommodation; and theſe were greedily received and magnified by a ruined people, and aſcribed to his abilities and good offices. The Inhabitants, therefore, of the frontier places, eſpecially the women, the children, and the aged people came out in crowds to meet him: they ſtrewed the roads where he paſſed with flowers and odoriferous herbs, and hailed him as an Angel of Peace, by whoſe mediation the Deſtroyer's ſword was, at length, to be ſheathed †.

When he came back to the Emperor, that Prince ſeemed diſpleaſed at his negotiation with the French King; and complained, that in the written diſcourſe, which was alike addreſſed to them both, he had ſhewn a partiality to his Rival. This was one of thoſe artifices in which *Charles*'s temper was very fruitful, and contrived to hinder the Legate's departure for *England*, which he was reſolved ſhould not take place till after his Son's arrival in that Kingdom, and his marriage with the Queen. His friend, Cardinal *Morone*

* Vita *Poli*, fol. 25. † *Ibid.*

Morone informed, him that this intelligence had been ſent to *Rome*; and it was added, that the LEGATE, wearied out with diſappointments and contradictions, was deſirous to be recalled. To which he made the following anſwer.

"HE begins by teſtifying his concern at the diſpleaſure which his Holineſs had conceived from an information that his return to the Court of *Bruſſels* had not been agreeable to the Emperor; and that this news was the more unwelcome, as the Pope had entertained great hopes not only of recalling *England* to the unity of the Catholic Church, but alſo of treating of a peace between the Emperor and the French King. But that, ſuppoſing his arrival was as little pleaſing to the former of theſe Princes, as it had been reported, he did not ſee what change this could cauſe in the affairs of *England*, as theſe had been carried on in conſequence of the Letter which the Queen wrote to the Pope, of the grants of the vacant Biſhopricks, and other Articles, which were placed out of all uncertainty: inſomuch that nothing ſeemed wanting to the deſired ſucceſs of this buſineſs, but the diſcuſſion of the Church revenues, concerning which his Holineſs's pleaſure had been conſulted.—That, as to the final reconciliation of the Nation, as the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had lately aſſured him, there had been no appearance of effecting it during the laſt Parliament.—Now, as to the concluſion of a Peace, it had nothing in common with the Emperor's ſuppoſed diſſatisfaction; and could only affect his, the LEGATE's, perſon, not the cauſe: but if he was, in any ſenſe, connected with the general intereſt, there was nothing he was not diſpoſed to do in order to promote it.—He well perceived, he ſays, that he had been repreſented as a perſon who did not approve of the Queen's marriage with the Prince of *Spain*, and that his taciturnity on that

Article had paſſed for diſlike; but that to every equitable perſon he muſt appear to have acted the only part which became him—He did not deny, but whilſt he was at *Dilingen*, though the marriage was the ſubject of all converſations, he had neither mentioned it in his letters to the Queen, nor ordered the Meſſengers he diſpatched to her, from time to time, to take any notice of it; becauſe he thought it would be a treſpaſs on the reſpect he owed her Majeſty, and detrimental to the principal buſineſs he had in hand, if he made any mention of ſuch like affairs, before they were notified to him by the party whom they concerned.

"That as ſoon as her Majeſty's Ambaſſadors, by her orders, had informed him of this piece of news, at his coming to *Bruſſels*; and that her motives for contracting this alliance were the deſire of eſtabliſhing the State on a ſolid and laſting foundation, and of leaving poſterity to her People; he had then congratulated her on a choice which had been directed by ſuch integrity and uprightneſs, and offered himſelf to ſerve both her and her Royal Conſort to the utmoſt of his abilities; and that this had been the conſtant tenor of his converſations, both in public and private, ever ſince. —As a further argument of the ſincerity of his proceedings in this regard, he alleges his behaviour to his Nephew, whom, when he was in *France*, he forbid his houſe, and not only refuſed to receive ſeveral letters of diſaffected and paſſionate perſons, like himſelf; but earneſtly entreated the French King not to give ear to ſuch perſons and ſuch matters.—That, whoever conſidered the time and place in which he had behaved in this manner; with what a Prince he had to deal, who was very deſirous to detain him in his Kingdom, and engage him in his views; and then reflects how ſuddenly he left that Court, muſt neceſſarily conclude,

clude, that the Emperor could no longer miſtruſt his zeal for his ſervice; or be diſpleaſed with his departure from *France*.—Had I continued there, ſays he, ſeveral diſcontented Engliſh, not being informed of my diſpoſitions, would have flocked to me; as I eaſily foreſaw, from the great number who reſorted to that Kingdom during the ſhort ſtay I made there. In order, therefore, to take away all hope of my being a ſupport to Faction, which the bare report of being in *France* would have kept up, I came away; and this, methinks, was doing the Queen and his Imperial Majeſty ſome ſervice; and ſhewed, at the ſame time, how ſincerely I deſired the tranquillity of my Country; and, were other reaſons wanting, muſt juſtify the ſtep I took.

" He had moreover, he ſays, ſignified the ſame ſentiments to her Majeſty; for having wrote to her, very lately, on the Parliament not having concluded a reconciliation with the Catholic Church, and being deſirous to mitigate the grief ſhe ſuffered on that delay, he had conſidered it as a diſpoſition of the divine providence; and was willing to hope, that as a nuptial diſagreement between an Engliſh King and a Spaniſh Queen had cauſed the breach, which was ſo much lamented; the connubial concord of a Spaniſh King and an Engliſh Queen would be the means of reſtoring the ancient union—That, on this account he offered up his ſupplications for the ſpeedy and happy arrival of the Prince; as he made no doubt, but the very firſt Act of the Parliament, which would then be ſummoned, would be to enact what was to be the foundation of every good which was to be derived on their reign; and might well be expected from Princes, who held the concerns of Religion in that high eſteem, in which the Supreme Being, and the very nature of things had

placed them, that is, above all other confidera-tions.

"He adds, that he had not only wrote to the Queen in this ftyle; but to thofe who feemed dif-fatisfied with the King for being a Foreigner; and doubted not, but the Englifh would be as much undeceived in the good qualities of a foreign Prince, and the advantages they would reap from them, as they had been deceived, to the offence of the divine Majefty, and their private and public ruin, in that Prince who had chaftifed them with as heavy a rod as was ever felt, not only from an alien but an enemy.—In this ftrain, fays he, I reafon with all who difcourfe with me on the fubject, whether they are pleafed or not; and put on a fort of prophetic air; that I may pacify the malecon-tents; and, as far as words can go, confirm the well-meaning: and, if this behaviour is not fuf-ficient to clear me of all fufpicion, I know not what is; fince any thing beyond it muft appear affectation, to which my temper is very averfe; and which, inftead of perfuading, creates diftruft. And though, at firft, the expediency of this mar-riage might feem problematical, yet, fince it is concluded, I fhall look on it as a prefage of my Country's future felicity.

"As for what he had done in *France*, towards a peace, the Cardinal, to whom he writes, was informed, he fays, of the whole, and had feen the French King's anfwer, which was drawn up in fuch a manner, that the Emperor might take occafion from it either to continue the war, or make an overture of reconciliation; as the exorbitant demands which the firft part of the Memorial contained, furnifhed a reafon for conti-nuing hoftilities; and the other part gave an open-ing to the latter; efpecially, as he had informed the Emperor of what the French Minifters had told him by word of mouth. Infomuch, that had he

been

been the moſt artful of men, and had no other deſign than of ſerving his Imperial Majeſty, he could not have brought to a more deſirable Iſſue an affair which he had managed with ſimplicity. If therefore, as his Friend aſſured him, the holy Father thought he had given no juſt occaſion of offence, particularly as things had turned out, he might confirm him in this opinion.

" He concludes with aſſuring the Cardinal, that though he might ſeem to have ſignified a deſire of being recalled, yet this was only on a ſuppoſition that the Emperor's diſpleaſure allowed him to be no longer ſerviceable to his Holineſs and the common cauſe; and did not proceed from ſhunning labour and a deſire of reſt. That, he had, indeed, informed the Pope, of what had been ſaid to him, at his return, firſt, by the Emperor; then, by the Biſhop of *Arras*; and, ſtill more openly, by the Nuncio; that, violence of words could go no greater lengths: and had he not taken them in the ſenſe they were meant, he muſt have been more inſenſible than an inanimate being: but as to his being recalled or not, he left it entirely to the Pope's determination, and ſhould look on that as moſt ſalutary, which, in his great wiſdom, he judged beſt *."—This letter was dictated to a Secretary, and is, on that account, much more prolix than if it had been of the Legate's writing. I have only ſet down the heads, which are there treated very diffuſely.

25th *May*, 1554.

Some ſhort time before, he had written another letter to the ſame perſon much in the ſame ſtyle as this; which I ſhall here lay before the Reader, becauſe it throws a great light on the conſtitutional caſt of the Legate's mind, no leſs than on his virtue, and the command he had of himſelf. It is ſomewhat long, as thoſe narratives are apt to be

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ª, pag. 138.

be in which we enter on a detail of ourſelves with perſons who have our whole confidence.

"I WILL, my Lord, no longer conceal from you the cauſe I imagined I had to expoſtulate with your Lordſhip, in ſuch a ſtrain as is very conſiſtent with friendſhip; or, to ſpeak more properly, is owing to it. Your Lordſhip, in the latter part of your letter informs me, that though the Pope and others, whom it may concern, were ſatisfied with the ſincerity of my diſpoſitions; yet you had ſome miſgivings, leſt a ſatiety of the world, and want of ambition ſhould cauſe me to withdraw from buſineſs, and betake myſelf to a private life. You remind me, therefore, that though the ſupreme Being be all-ſufficient of himſelf to conduct human affairs as he pleaſes, and to make every thing ſubſervient to his glory, yet it is his will that we, in our turn, ſhould ſecond the views of his providence, and not be wanting to the Poſts he has aſſigned us. Had this method of reaſoning been employed by one, who was not intimately acquainted with me, I ſhould not have wondered; as I frequently make uſe of it myſelf, and am accuſtomed to refer the whole glory of each good work to the Almighty; and to acknowledge with all gratitude and humility whatever is laudable to proceed from him. My manner of living, which, for the moſt part, has been to retire often to my ſtudies, and not thruſt myſelf into action, or to ſhew any deſire of thoſe employments which lead to the buſy ſcenes of life, might eaſily induce a perſon who was a ſtranger to me, to imagine, either that I am very lazy, or that I make more account of myſelf than of the Public; or that I am of their opinion, who perſuade themſelves, that God being ſufficient to compaſs every thing by his power and providence, all they

have

have to do, is to wait till he puts them in action. But that your Lordſhip, to whom, as I ſaid, I ought to be thoroughly known, ſhould entertain any ſuch judgment of me, I cannot ſufficiently wonder, eſpecially as the intercourſe we have long had with each other has not only let you into the knowledge of that kind of ſtudies, to which ſome perſons will needs have it that I give up too much of my time; but alſo into my motive for ſo doing.

"And now, as an opportunity offers, I will enlarge myſelf ſomewhat on the end I propoſe in what I do, and how far my ambition reaches. I have formerly told you, my Lord, what I here repeat, that, whether through puſillanimity, or whatever other cauſe, I was never deſirous to be the Head or chief Magiſtrate, who bears univerſal ſway, and aſſigns to each one his poſt; yet I was ever ready to aſſiſt any one who was willing to govern well, and knew how to do ſo; that is, who referred the ſway he bore to his ſervice, from whom all power is derived, and to the advantage of thoſe he governed. Theſe have always been my diſpoſitions; nor do I remember to have ever withdrawn myſelf from the ſervice of my Prince, or of any private friend, unleſs when my aſſiſtance was not aſked; or, if it was, I was not left at large to conſult the real honour and advantage of the Parties concerned: and to this, not one part, but the whole courſe of my life bears evidence.

I will, in the firſt place, produce an inſtance in that Prince to whom I had more ties than all others; and was ſo deſirous to comply with them, that I had rather have ſerved him, though with the utmoſt difficulty and hazard of life itſelf, than have enjoyed a long and uninterrupted proſperity under any other. I quitted his ſervice on no other account, but becauſe he exacted ſome of

what

what was contrary to his own true glory, and the intereſt of my Country; though, by ſo doing, I left the high road to wealth and preferment. I proceeded on the ſame principle, when being, afterwards, called to the ſervice of that Prince, to whom the ſupreme Ruler has commanded an univerſal deference; and being charged with ſeveral laborious and hazardous employments, I never refuſed to acquit myſelf of any, and never put my private ſtudies or occupations in competition with the moſt ſlender advantage I could procure to the meaneſt perſon in the univerſe.

"I readily grant, indeed, that I am not accuſtomed to obtrude myſelf, and go about in queſt of buſineſs; and this has given ſome, who are not acquainted with me, occaſion to aſcribe my ſolitude to other motives than the true: for when I ſhall be called forth to action by thoſe, who have a right to command my ſervice; or ſtand in need of it, I am not afraid to ſay, there is no labour or danger which I ſhall not be ready to face.

"But, to come to a greater detail with reſpect to the affair I have now in hand, your Lordſhip may ſay, that ſince I am employed in what has ever been the object of my wiſhes, why do I ſeem to decline it? To which I anſwer, that nothing in this world could afford me greater ſatisfaction, and that I eſteem it a greater emolument than if his Holineſs had conferred on me all the lucrative benefices with which he has gratified the Sacred College ſince he ſat in the Pontifical throne: and my reaſon for being thus affected is, as I have declared above, that the utmoſt of my ambition and deſire is, to ſerve ſuch a patron, and in ſuch a Cauſe. This ſatisfaction daily increaſes, as his Holineſs is pleaſed to preſs this

affair

affair on me from motives truly worthy himſelf, the honour of the Almighty, and the good of a great People.

"I WOULD not, however, have your Lordſhip imagine, that, having ſome experience of theſe affairs, I am ignorant on what a tempeſtuous Sea I embark, when I undertake the Embaſſy to *England*; and that the riſks I am to run, and the hardſhips I muſt undergo to guide the Veſſel into the Haven, are much greater than thoſe I have hitherto encountered with. But these neither terrify, or give me a ſingle wiſh of the quiet and ſafe ſtation I have left; and the whole purport of what I wrote to my Agent at *Rome*, was, to give his holineſs to underſtand, that if, on account of the exigences of the times, any other Miniſter ſhould be eſteemed better qualified to treat with the intereſted Parties, He would not pay the leaſt regard to my Perſon, but employ one who would give him greater ſatisfaction, and more advance the common cauſe. This was the ſum of my letters, and of what I ſignified to his Holineſs by my Auditor *Ormanet*. *."—This letter, as well as the former, being written in Italian, they both partake of the exuberance of ſtyle of that language, which is very different from the conciſeneſs of our own. 8th *May*, 1554.

THE Emperor, in the mean time, in order to make his pretexts for delaying the LEGATE's departure more plauſible, would ſee the powers he was inveſted with, in regard to the affairs of *England*, and ſend them over to be examined by that Court. This, he knew, would take up a conſiderable time; and the Queen, who had been prevailed on to look on the delays which were

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4a, pag. 133.

were hitherto put to the LEGATE's arrival, as a meaſure which the ſituation of her affairs required, was now, likewiſe, inſtructed to object to the powers conferred on him, as inſufficient to bring about the wiſhed for reconciliation.

THE Pope immediately on *Edward*'s death, on a ſuppoſition that *Mary* would deſire CARDINAL POLE's preſence to rectify the diſorders which were introduced in her Father's and Brother's reigns, had, as has been related, appointed him LEGATE to the Queen and the Engliſh nation, and had given him inſtructions and very ample powers, with which it is neceſſary the Reader ſhould be informed, as they are intimately connected with the following part of this hiſtory, and are contained under theſe heads.

" THE Pope begins by expreſſing his joy on the happy turn which affairs had taken in *England*, which might give a well-grounded hope of that flouriſhing Kingdom returning to its former ſtate, and becoming, once more, a part of CHRIST's fold, after having been ſeparated from it in the two laſt reigns. This, he ſays, is, by way of excellence, the Work of God's right hand, and to be celebrated by the joy and acclamation of every well diſpoſed perſon.—That, he offers up his thankſgiving to the Almighty for having reſtored a paternal crown to a Princeſs, as a reward of her ſteady adherence to Religion, and her conſtancy under the ſharpeſt Trials: and whereas this Event had been accompliſhed when human means ſeemed leaſt to promiſe it, his confidence was raiſed that the mercy would be extended to the whole body of the People.—He congratulates, likewiſe, the Engliſh Catholics, who had continued ſteadfaſt to the ancient worſhip, on their own perſeverance, and the ſatisfaction they muſt feel on the proſpect of ſeeing their

their Countrymen return to it.—He obſerves, that *England* had a peculiar right to his care and attention, having formerly received the Faith by the miniſtry of Perſons ſent thither from the See he governed; which made him deſirous to comfort thoſe, alſo, who had departed from thoſe principles, and to reſtore them to the rectitude from which they were fallen."

As the exigences of the Nation were various, the Commiſſion was very ample, and ſuch as became his Vicegerent, whoſe proper character is, *to ſeek what was loſt, to bind up what was broken, and to gather together what had been diſperſed in the dark and ſtormy day*; the LEGATE was empowered to extend this indulgence to almoſt every weakneſs and depravity of human nature, of which the miſery of thoſe times afforded but too many inſtances; and which ſtood in need of a great deal of knowledge in preſcribing the remedies, and of a charity and zeal equal to His, in applying them. The ſame latitude was extended to perſons of what degree and profeſſion ſoever, with reſpect to cenſures and penalties incurred by Hereſy, and thoſe crimes with which it is uſually attended, as ſacrilege, perjury, forbidden marriages, ſimony, and the like.

NOR was this lenity only uſed as to the conſcientious part, but alſo as to all civil purſuits on account of the ſaid miſdemeanors; and the Delinquents, at the LEGATE's pleaſure, were to be reſtored to all the ſpiritual and temporal advantages they enjoyed before their tranſgreſſions. He might, likewiſe, exempt them from any public abjuration of their errors, and from all other penalties which the Church diſcipline exacts in ſuch caſes: the only condition required, was a ſincere return to the true Faith, an unfeigned ſorrow and confeſſion of their ſins, accompanied with abſolution and the performance of ſuch penitence

tence as a diſcreet ghoſtly Father ſhould enjoin. The Eccleſiaſtical precepts of faſts and abſtinence were left to the LEGATE's regulation, who might diſpenſe with them as to perſons and places, as he judged expedient.

SEVERAL both of the Secular and regular Clergy had entered on a marriage ſtate, which, as has been ſaid above, the example of the Apoſtles, the ancient uſage of the whole Weſtern Church, the Councils and Canons had made unlawful to the former; and, beſides the obligation ariſing from theſe heads, the moſt ſolemn engagements had rendered utterly inconſiſtent with the profeſſion of the latter. The following expedient, therefore, was preſcribed to redreſs a diſorder, which the licentiouſneſs of the laſt reign had added to thoſe of the preceding. They were commanded to renounce theſe Contracts, which were no better than a licenſed Concubinage; and, on that ſingle condition, were permitted to enjoy, at the LEGATE's diſcretion, all the Rights they had forfeited by their incontinence.

THIS Con'deſcenſion was ſtill more extenſive in behalf of ſuch of the ſecular Clergy as ſtood in need of it. The Pope ſuppoſes the caſe of ſome of theſe unfortunate Offenders might be ſo peculiar, as to make it adviſeable to allow them to continue as they were; and the LEGATE is authoriſed to grant them a diſpenſation to make good their engagements, provided the ſurvivor of the contracting Parties be rendered incapable ever to marry again. But, as it would have been the higheſt indecency, and given the moſt juſt offence, if ſuch perſons had enjoyed the revenues of the Church, or were promoted to her dignities; and, much more, were they to perform any Prieſtly function, and miniſter at the Altar, they are deprived of the former, and utterly ſecluded from the latter. The diſpoſition

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of all Ecclefiaftical and pious Foundations, under whatever title, and to whomfoever belonging, was left to the LEGATE, to regulate as he fhould judge moft conducive to the honour of God, and the fpiritual welfare of the Kingdom. He was empowered to agree and tranfact, as he fhould judge convenient, with the poffeffors of Church goods: to difcharge them for the profits they had unjuftly received, and for the moveable goods they had confumed. Whether reftitution of the immoveable was to be made or not was alfo left to his determination; and he was authorized to make the Owners eafy as to all fuch matters. Whatever profit arofe from thefe tranfactions was to be applied to the Churches, which had fuffered; to Hofpitals and Schools, and fuch like purpofes.

As fo great a multiplicity of bufinefs could not be difpatched by one perfon, the LEGATE was enabled to commit any part of it, fome few claufes excepted, to fuch judicious and pious perfons as he fhould chufe for that purpofe; nor was an appeal of any kind, to take place or hinder the execution of what he had decreed. Laftly, the Pope confirms the jurifdiction he conferred on him; and, moreover, adds, that it is his intention, He fhould act, on all occafions, with the fame plenitude of power which himfelf held from JESUS CHRIST, and promifes to ratify whatever fhall be fo enacted *.

THE LEGATE was, afterwards, by an extenfion of thefe Privileges, commiffioned to exert thefe powers whilft he was out of the Kingdom; to confirm Bifhops who had been nominated by the fecular authority, and were fallen into herefy, during the Schifm of the two laft reigns, on re-

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* Printed at *London*, 1685, and may be feen, at length, in *Wilkins's* Conc. *Mag. Brit.* vol. 4th. pag. 91.

nouncing their errors: and to provide, on any vacancy, the Metropolitan and Cathedral Churches of the Realm with ſuch perſons as ſhould be recommended to him by the Queen, according to the Cuſtoms of the Realm *.

5th *Aug.* 1553. THIS ſalutary and benevolent Commiſſion was ſet forth in four different Patents, which bear the ſame date; the laſt of them is ſigned by the Nephew of the celebrated *Sadolet*, who had ſucceeded his Uncle in the Biſhoprick of *Carpentras* †.—In the three others, which are in form of Credentials, the Pope informs the LEGATE "that having deliberated with the Cardinals on the arduous and delicate negotiation of recalling his Country to the Faith of its Forefathers, it had been unanimouſly agreed to appoint him Legate to the Queen and Kingdom; and that the preference given to him, on this occaſion, was owing to the natural love he muſt be ſuppoſed to bear his own Country, to his knowledge of the language, manners, and temper of the People; to his Royal extraction, his authority and influence; to his ſingular ſkill in the management of buſineſs;

* Original Book of Diſpatches M. S. in the Engliſh College of *Doway*, produced by Mr. *Dod*, Church Hiſt. vol. 1, pag. 545, et ſeq. in which Work there are many valuable Documents relating to the Eccleſiaſtical affairs of this Nation.

† Biſhop *Burnet* has, likewiſe, given, at length, the Bull, in which the abovementioned Articles are contained; Hiſt. of the Reform. part 3d, pag. 215 of the collection of Records.——He has, likewiſe, exhibited, with candour, the Papal Decrees by which the LEGATE's powers are extended; and the Church poſſeſſions ſecured, in the moſt ample and unexceptionable form, to thoſe who then enjoyed them, ibid. p. 221, 222. And he has publiſhed, with the ſame good faith, *Ormanet*'s and *Granvelle*'s letters, and one of CARDINAL POLE to the Pope, and ſome others, *ibid.* pag. 226, *et ſeq.* which, though very neceſſary for that part of the CARDINAL's hiſtory, are omitted in *Quirini*'s Collection; and He has informed his Readers by what means they came into his hands. Hiſt. of the Reform. part 3. b. 5, p. 230.

neſs; to his eloquence, and, above all other conſiderations, to his love of our God, and Lord JESUS CHRIST, and of his holy Catholic Church.—That, as the LEGATE had already given proof of theſe, and all other Virtues, wherewith the bountiful hand of Providence had adorned his perſon, his Holineſs had appointed him to employ them all in bringing back to the paths of righteouſneſs thoſe who had ſtrayed from them, in a manner worthy his piety towards God, his reſpect to the holy See, his affection for the common cauſe of Chriſtianity, and his great parts and integrity: and, that this wiſhed-for ſucceſs was, firſt, to be expected from a propitious God; and, in the next place, from the labours, the prudence and virtues of the LEGATE, and the piety and wiſdom of the Queen. —It may be truly aſſerted, if ever Patents were a faithful repreſentation of the Bearer, theſe were of CARDINAL POLE, and not more the Credentials of an Ambaſſador, than the Certificate of a private Character *.

THESE powers, ample as they were, for the reaſons I have mentioned, were objected to by the Emperor; and *Ormanet*, the LEGATE's Auditor, was ſent to *Rome*, in order to have them enlarged, whilſt the LEGATE, in the mean time, took up his reſidence at *Delingen-Abbey*, near *Bruſſels*. Here he had the news of *Philip*'s arrival in *England*, and his marriage with the Queen. The Prince came to *Southampton* on the 20th of *July*, and was met by her Majeſty at *Wincheſter*, where the nuptials were celebrated, in the Cathedral, with great pomp, and the Ceremony performed by *Gardiner*, Biſhop of the Dioceſe, on the 27th. *Philip* was in the twenty-ſeventh

 year

* Ex *R. Pole*, fol. 4, b; tranſcribed by *Wilkins*, Conc. *Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, pag. 87.

year of his age, and the Queen in the thirty-eighth.

THE qualities of this Prince formed a Character, to which it was impoſſible the temper of the Engliſh ſhould ever be reconciled: and, that this may not appear a random aſſertion, I ſhall draw the out-lines, from which the whole Portrait may be collected. The Reader, at the ſame time, may not be diſpleaſed to reflect on the ſtrange and unaccountable ſteps by which this Prince has attained to the reputation of wiſdom, and great ſkill in that Science, which becomes a Throne. Beſides other arguments of this ſuperiority, two volumes have been publiſhed of his Aphoriſms; and there is ſcarce any epithet to denote uncommon ſagacity, which has not been affixed to his name: even, appearances have not been wanting to make him paſs for a good man, no leſs than a great Prince.

PHILIP had a diſtant and reſerved carriage, which was the effect of conſtitution and pride, and rendered him very unfit to govern a brave and generous People. Tho' the marriage treaty between him and the Queen had been carrying on almoſt a year, and was concluded ſome months before he came to *England*, he never once wrote to her. He knew nothing of our language, and gave himſelf little trouble to be acquainted with our manners. When amongſt us, he retained the Spaniſh dreſs, which gave his perſon, which though low, was ſtiff and ſtately, a ſtill more foreign air, and made him appear to greater diſadvantage. This occaſioned the Mob ſometimes to follow him in the ſtreets, and give their opinion of him with a freedom which is peculiar to themſelves. The Flemings had obſerved and blamed this inbred arrogance, when he was only Prince of *Spain*; and nothing contributed more to alienate the affections of a people, whoſe diſpoſitions bear a great reſemblance to our own. His

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wretched policy loſt *Holland*, and drove the other Provinces of the *Netherlands* in to the worſt extremities; and a jealous and ſuſpicious temper cauſed him to diſcard thoſe whom his Father had employed; and remove the mild and wiſe Governors, who had the love and confidence of the People, and appoint others in their ſtead, whoſe harſh and cruel proceedings might be more ſuited to his own. His Son had been tried and put to death in the dark receſſes of a priſon; and it is a problem, if his natural Brother, the moſt gallant and amiable Prince of the age, did not die by poiſon adminiſtered by his orders: to ſay nothing of the equivocal manner in which his third Wife, *Elizabeth* of *France*, left the world; and his delay in the very firſt remittance of a ſmall penſion, which his Father, *Charles* V. had reſerved out of the vaſt dominions he reſigned to him. A black melancholy, to which he was ſubject, was encreaſed by a ravenous appetite, and groſs meats. Though the conqueſt of *New Spain* had cauſed a tide of wealth to flow into the old; from a want of knowledge to put it to uſeful purpoſes, it only furniſhed him with means to trouble his Neighbours, and graſp at foreign conqueſts, when he had already ſo much more than he knew how to govern, with all the farce of profound penetration, and what the Fools of the World call deep Policy, he ever wanted the plain and ſimple, and, therefore, the true Principles of Government. He introduced into the Spaniſh Councils that trifling ceremonial, and thoſe forms in which every department is ſo entrenched as to be inacceſſible to diſpatch; and theſe gloomy and pedantic arts, by which ſhew and appearances are kept up, whilſt real ſtrength is deſtroyed, have, ever ſince, continued to damp the ſpirit of a Nation naturally brave, and to thin it of Inhabitants. The ſame management became hereditary, and his Succeſſor,

Don *John* of *Auſtria*. *Margaret* of *Parma*.

Don *John*.

Philip III.

for, by one ſenſeleſs and inhuman Edict drove out of *Spain* a Million of People: and, to come to proofs which our own times afford, whilſt the formalities of the laſt War were adjuſting at *Madrid*, our Countrymen ſailed, fought, and overcame.

THE LEGATE had no ſooner heard the news of the Queen's marriage, but he congratulated the new King by a long Letter, which was no leſs a piece of ſeaſonable advice, than a compliment on his nuptials, and the acquiſition of a new Kingdom to his hereditary dominions. He obſerves the perſonal intereſt he had in this great event, as he was ſent Legate to her Majeſty and the Realm; and likewiſe to *Philip*'s Father, and to the King of *France*: that this conſideration makes his wiſhes the more ardent, that this alliance may be a means of reſtoring to his Country the bleſſings of tranquillity to which it had been ſo long a ſtranger; and bringing about a general peace to the emolu-
11th *July*, 1554. ment of all *Europe* *. The LEGATE wrote, likewiſe, a letter of felicitation to the Emperor, on his Son's marriage, which he incloſed in one to the Biſhop of *Arras*, and deſired him to forward it to his Majeſty, who was then at *Valenciennes*. He lets
29th *July*, 1554. the Biſhop know that this Auditor was not returned from *Rome*, but that he expected him ſoon.—He ſent the ſame intelligence, on the ſame day, to the Cardinal *de Monte*; and, before he had finiſhed the letter, *Ormanet* arrived with the enlargement of the Legantine Powers; "which, he ſays, was ſuch as he could have deſired from the Pope's goodneſs, in an affair of the higheſt concernment: that, therefore, he entreated the Cardinal to make his moſt dutiful acknowledgments to his Holineſs, and ſhould, on the firſt opportunity, ſend him all the information he could deſire: that *Ormanet*'s arrival could never have

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 4ª, p. 158.

have been more ſeaſonable; and he had great hopes in an all-good and powerful Providence, that every thing would end to the Pope's ſatiſfaction."

THE Pope, in this enlargement of the LEGATE's commiſſion, enumerates the powers he had already conferred on him, in his Embaſſy to *England*, and appointing him Legate by commiſſion to the Emperor and the French King. à latere. Tho' the commiſſion, he ſays, was very extenſive, and he had authority to exert it in every thing, which concerned the perſons and affairs of his Country, whilſt he reſided in *Flanders*, yet the fallen ſtate of the Nation occaſioned infinite and unthought of caſes to occur, which required the aſſiſtance of the Holy See, to which no detail was ſufficient; and a further doubt had been raiſed, whether this authority could be exerciſed in the Iſlands and other dominions ſubject to her Majeſty. To remove, therefore, all ambiguity, the Pope conferred on him full power to execute whatever he judged neceſſary to bring about the ſalutary end of the Embaſſy to *England*, though it was not comprehended in his former patents: and as to the Embaſſy to the two Courts abovementioned, he had the full powers of Legate by commiſſion, in as ample form as they had been conferred on the two Cardinals, who were lately employed at the ſaid Courts. 26th *June*, 1554.

As what concerned the Church Revenues was a matter of the greateſt difficulty to be adjuſted to the Rules of Juſtice and Religion, and ſeemed the main obſtacle to the Nation's return to the ancient worſhip; the Pope had ordered a ſeparate Decree relative to this affair, as follows.—" He mentions to the LEGATE, that he had already authorized him to treat with the Poſſeſſors of Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, as to the fruits they had unjuſtly received, and conſumed, and to diſcharge them from any obligation

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of reſtitution ariſing from theſe heads. But as there was, every day, a greater proſpect of the bleſſing he ſo much wiſhed the Nation, taking place, and nothing ſeemed more likely to remove the hindrance which yet obſtructed it, than the indulgence of the holy See towards thoſe who, in the confuſion of the late times, had taken poſſeſſion of Church lands; He, on his part, ſhould be very unwilling that a ranſom ſo dearly purchaſed as the ſalvation of the intereſted parties, ſhould be fruſtrated by any temporal conſiderations. He committed, therefore, the whole affair to the LEGATE, and inveſted him with the moſt ample power to agree and compound with the preſent Owners; and to aſſure to them their poſſeſſions, on whatever title they held them; to exempt them from any duty of reſtitution; and to do every thing which was neceſſary to remove all ſcruples and make them eaſy. This only clauſe was added, that if any affair occurred ſo momentous as to make the deciſion of the holy See, ſeem neceſſary, ſhe was to be conſulted, and her judgment waited for: but, even, whether this was to be done or not, was left to the LEGATE, and his ſentence was to determine all things *."

28th *July*, 1554. CARDINAL, *de Monte* accompanied theſe Decrees with a letter of great civilities, which *Ormanet*, the Auditor, was to deliver to his Lord; with another from Cardinal *Moron*, in anſwer to thoſe of the LEGATE, of which large extracts have been already given. *Moron* lets him know, "that having informed the Pope of what he had wrote, he had teſtified the higheſt approbation of the LEGATE's conduct, and cleared him of giving cauſe to the Emperor or any one elſe, of the extravagant behaviour he complained of.—

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* Printed at *London*, 1553; and cited by *Wilkins*, Conc. *Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, p. 1024.

As to recalling him; he perſiſted, that it could not be done without great indignity to himſelf, diſhonour to the holy See, reproach to the Emperor, injury to the LEGATE, and prejudice to the affairs of *England*.—That his Holineſs had often declared himſelf variouſly on the ſubject of Church lands, before he came to a final reſolution; but that, at length, the Bearer, *Ormanet*, was diſpatched with every conceſſion conformable to the exigences of affairs, and the LEGATE's deſires." 13th *July*, 1554.

THE LEGATE had no ſooner received theſe diſpatches, but he ſent the Bearer to inform the Emperor, who was ſtill at *Valenciennes*, of their contents, and to urge his Majeſty's conſent to his ſetting out for *England*. *Ormanet*, immediately on his arrival, had audience of the Biſhop of *Arras*, of which he gives *Priuli* the following account: "That the Miniſter's anſwer to the commiſſion with which the LEGATE had charged him was, that no one could doubt of the Emperor having the affairs of Religion at heart, as he had always promoted its intereſt, and often expoſed his life in its cauſe—that as to the ſeaſonableneſs of exerting his zeal in the preſent juncture, on which I had chiefly inſiſted, his Majeſty was of opinion it was proper to wait the turn which affairs took in *England*, from whence they had no news ſince the Prince's landing, but of the marriage.—That it would be neceſſary to come to an explicit declaration on two heads; whether the diſpoſition of the Church revenues was left to the LEGATE or to their Majeſties, and the method which his Lordſhip propoſed to obſerve in this diſpoſition. The Biſhop added, that he deſired to ſee a Copy of the Patents. My anſwer, ſays *Ormanet*, was, that as to the particulars of the commiſſion, he thought he had ſaid enough in declaring to his

his Lordſhip, that the LEGATE was entruſted with the whole; but as to the manner of proceeding in it, he could come to no reſolution till he was on the ſpot, as there were many things of which as yet, it was impoſſible to frame a right notion.—I inſiſted on the importance of the buſineſs, which required all the diſpatch the nature of things admitted; and that no opportunity could be fairer than the preſent, as the good humour, which the late Coronation had occaſioned, would reconcile the minds of the People to what the LEGATE was to execute, and his Majeſty's Son have the honour of being, in great meaſure, the Inſtrument of ſuch a National bleſſing.—On this head, the Auditor ſays, he enlarged himſelf, as he ſhould inform the LEGATE, on his return.—The concluſion was, that *Granvelle* would inform his Imperial Majeſty of all that had paſſed between them; and that his own good offices ſhould not be wanting, which he owed both to the cauſe, and to his deference and eſteem for the LEGATE: that, as they were to change quarters very ſuddenly, he could not then let me have his Majeſty's reſolution, but would ſend it to me at *Valenciennes*, and I need give myſelf no further trouble. I ſhall allow him a whole day to acquit himſelf of his promiſe; and on the following, if he fails to do it, ſhall return to ſolicit my diſmiſſion. I was willing, ſays he, to ſend this detail, that I might cauſe no uneaſineſs by ſtaying beyond the time appointed.
31ſt *July*, 1554. He informs *Priuli*, that the Emperor was in ſo good a ſtate of health and ſpirits, as to review his troops, every day, on horſeback."

THREE days after the Biſhop of *Arras* diſmiſſed *Ormanet* with the following letter to the LEGATE. "I have received two Letters from your Lordſhip, by the firſt of which you aſſure me of your ſatiſfaction on the Prince's arrival in *England*, and his marriage. The other, which was directed to his Imperial

Imperial Majeſty, I delivered myſelf; and he ſignified how much he was pleaſed at this pledge of your Lordſhip's regard and affection. Your Auditor, who is to be the Bearer of this, is ſince arrived here, and has made a report to me of whatever you were pleaſed to communicate concerning your Patents; of all which I have informed his Majeſty. His anſwer is, as your Lordſhip may underſtand more at large from the Bearer, that he does not think it proper you ſhould ſet out for *England*, till he has conſulted their Britannic Majeſties on this head; and that, on the return of a Courier who was diſpatched to day, he ſhall be able to take a final reſolution.—That the Emperor, the King and Queen had but one common intereſt in view; and it could not be doubted but they would promote it not only with a zeal which became them, but alſo with ſuch temper as *Bouchain*, to be of ſervice to the cauſe, and not ruin it for 3d *Aug.* ever." 1554.

The Legate, in his anſwer, lets *Granvelle* know how ſenſible he was of his Imperial Majeſty's goodneſs, who, in the midſt of the din of war, gave ſo ſerious an attention to the affairs of *Britain*—That, as to ſetting out on his journey thither, he ſhould wait his pleaſure; and had never entertained a thought of taking any ſtep in the whole affair, but with his approbation—In the mean time, he ſhould beg of the divine Goodneſs to give to the whole body of the People a ſenſe of this favourable incident, leſt the reproach of the Prophet, *the Kite has known its ſeaſon, but my People hath not known the time of their viſitation*, ſhould be verified in them—that the piety of their Sovereigns gave him great hopes they would act in a manner worthy the expectation they had raiſed, eſpecially as they could not fail to be prompted and aſſiſted by the authority and prudence of his impe-

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rial Majesty—He ends, by telling the Bishop, that having been informed from his Auditor, that it would be a satisfaction to him to see a Copy of his commission to dispose of the Church lands, he had sent it, and desired to be informed when it was come to hand—That he was much obliged to him for the offers of his friendship, and the civilities he had shewed his Auditor." Some time after, this Minister informed the LEGATE, "he had seen his Patents, and joins in wishes for the success of an affair, which, as it regarded a common good, every one must have at heart."—This detail may, perhaps, appear too minute; but the importance of the affair, in which the negotiation ended, caused me to be as circumstantial concerning every thing which related to it (if I may be allowed the comparison) as the Poet in producing the Bow, by which his Hero was to be discovered, and the fate of the Suitors decided.

Delingen, 5th *Aug.* 1554.

11th *Aug.*

Odyss. b. 21.

DURING this intercourse, *Philip*, who was now King of *England*, had sent over a person of the first quality of the low Countries, to the Emperor his Father. This Nobleman was likewise charged with a letter of great respect, on the part of the King, to the LEGATE, to whom he was to notify his Majesty's marriage; and the Letter was to be the Bearer's Credentials. The LEGATE acknowledged his sense of this mark of Royal favour, by making an offer of the allegiance he now owed *Philip*, as his Sovereign; and by the like expressions of respect, which are bestowed on Princes, on such occasions. The letter is in Latin, and dated from *Delingen-Abbey*, near *Brussels*, where his residence was.—*Soto*, *Philip*'s Confessor, wrote, likewise, to him, in a manner agreeable to the Post he was in, and to his own personal character; and the LEGATE, in his reply, tells him, he had sufficiently indicated his own way of thinking, in persona-

The Count of *Horne*.

7th *Aug.*

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nating that of his Prince; and takes notice, that unleſs *Philip* really gave the preference to what concerned the worſhip of the Supreme Being, he would pervert the order of things; for unleſs this great affair held the firſt place, no other could be aſſigned to it *.

SOON after the time I am ſpeaking of, the Emperor came to *Bruſſels*, and had frequent conferences with the LEGATE and the Biſhop of *Arras*, on the ſituation of affairs in *England*, of which he gives the Pope the following particulars.—That the Emperor and his Miniſter had often reſumed the argument, which had been diſcuſſed in the Letters that had paſſed between the latter himſelf and *Ormanet*; which the Reader has already ſeen, and of which the LEGATE gives his Holineſs the chief heads. Theſe, he ſays, though repreſented with great candour, on his part, appeared not ſufficiently cleared up to his Majeſty and *Granvelle*; and in order to protract the affair, they inſiſted on further eclairciſſements. I replied, ſays the LEGATE, that in an affair of this nature, the negotiation was not to be carried on as in the late treaty of Peace, where neither party diſcovered their real intentions, but endeavoured to avail themſelves of the diſcovery they could make of thoſe of their Adverſary; whereas in this treaty there was but one common cauſe, in which your Holineſs, the Emperor, and their Britannic Majeſties were equally intereſted: and, if I was allowed to have acceſs to my Country, I ſhould ſatisfy the latter as to the extent of the commiſſion I had from your Holineſs to remove all obſtacles to a reconciliation; but if any difficulty remained, their Majeſties were

10th *Oct.*

* Et ſan ita eum prorſus facere oportet, qui collapſam Religioneme rigere atque inſtaurare cogitet; cui ſi primum locum non dederis, nullum dederis; ſed quam inſtaurare profitearis, dum ordinem pervertis, labefactes magis ac dirues. *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 4a, pag. 166.

were free to propoſe it.—That the Impediments, in general, were of two kinds; the firſt regarded the *Doctrine*, in which no abatement could be made, ſince the only Remedy to evils introduced by Error, was the acknowledgement of the contrary Truths. The other related to Church Revenues, the Poſſeſſors of which, from an apprehenſion of the ſeverity of her laws, were afraid to return to her obedience; and to this, I ſaid, your Holineſs was willing to extend indulgence as far as the caſe required.—The LEGATE then gives a ſummary relation of theſe conceſſions, with which, ſays he, the Emperor was highly ſatisfied; but added, that this Article ſhould be well conſidered, as he knew from the experience he had in *Germany*, that this would be the capital objection of many: for, as to tenets, they gave themſelves litttle trouble about them, being equally indifferent to all. The Emperor made other objections, which, the LEGATE ſays, ſeemed only ſtarted to put off his journey; to which he anſwered; that the Parliament

11th *Nov.* being ſhortly to be ſummoned, it was of the utmoſt importance it ſhould not break up without completing the great Work now in hand.—That otherwiſe it would give general Offence, and be a notable detriment to the Cauſe.—That the Queen having entered on the marriage ſtate with a view to facilitate this undertaking, and Providence having allotted her a Huſband, who might ſecond her good intentions, if an affair, which ought to be the Principle, on which their royal conduct ſhould turn, was put off any longer, they would be inexcuſable both before God and Man. The Emperor replied, that great allowances were to be made to the unfavourable diſpoſitions of thoſe whom this affair concerned, to their averſion to the very name of obedience to the Church, to a ſcarlet hat, and a Religious habit: that his Son had been adviſed to cauſe the Religious men he brought

brought with him from *Spain*, to change their dreſs; though he had not done it, nor did it become him to do ſo. To this he added, the dangerous conſequences of popular tumults, and the bad offices which their foreign Enemies, meaning the French, would not fail to do them.—I replied, ſays the LEGATE, that if their Majeſties were to wait till every imaginary difficulty was removed, there would never be an end of delays, ſince the intereſted parties deſired nothing more than that things ſhould go on in the preſent track, and they allowed to poſſeſs and enjoy what they held.—The Concluſion, ſays he, was, to expect the return of a Secretary, who was to come, in a few days, from *England*; and the LEGATE confer, in the mean time, with the Biſhop of *Arras*, on what 13th *Oct.*
had been the ſubject of this letter *." 1554.

WHILST this negotiation was going forward, envy, which, as the ſhadow follows the ſubſtance, attends eminent merit, endeavoured, by every low and ungenerous method to hinder the effects of the LEGATE's zeal, and keep him at a diſtance. All the ill ſervices, which malice and jealouſy could ſuggeſt, were employed at the Courts of *Rome*, *Bruſſels*, and *England*, to ſet him aſide, and repreſent him as unfit for the commiſſion he was charged with. Nor was he either ignorant or unattentive to what paſſed, but ſaid to his friends, he was much in the ſame caſe with a perſon, who, by the waving of the graſs, perceives that a ſnake is lurking under it, though he cannot exactly determine the ſpot †. But a confidence in Almighty God, and a reſolution not to be wanting to himſelf, and to make uſe of ſuch meaſures as prudence ſuggeſts, and Providence furniſhes, ſupported him in theſe ſtreights: at the ſame time, he wrote to *Philip*

* *Burnet*, part 3, b. 5. Col. of Records, pag. 230.
† *Vita Poli*, fol. 25, à tergo.

Philip the obligation He lay under of no longer refusing him the entrance of his Kingdom, and putting an obstacle to the commission he came to execute. "It is now, Sir, says he, a year since I presented myself at your palace gates, without having obtained admittance. If your Majesty asks, as it is usual of those who present themselves in this manner, who it is? I shall content myself with making this answer; that it is he, who, that he might prevent the same Palace from being shut to Her, with whom you now enjoy it in common, has suffered himself to be deprived of his home and Country, and underwent a banishment of twenty years. Was I to allege no other reason for being recalled and admitted to your presence, this alone must appear sufficient: but I overlook whatever I may claim in my own name, whatever I have a right to as a private person, and only desire that a due regard may be had to my public character *." He adds many reasons, which the goodness of his heart, and his zeal for the public good suggested, for not putting off to a more distant time a Work, which he thought should have been already entered on; and if it were neglected, would involve the King and Queen in much guilt and the consequences of it. This letter is long, and consists chiefly of Allegory, and moral Allusions to some historical passages of Scripture, which gave a handle to a Writer, who, on the whole, is very fair to CARDINAL POLE's character, to say it was more like the flourish of a Rhetorician, than the solemn expostulation of a great man on such an occasion. At the same time he acknowledges, that this manner of writing had been practised early, and long used by eminent men, and that such precedents might have warranted him to copy it.—He might have carried

21st. *Sept.* 1554.

Burnit Hist. of the Refor. part 3. p. 236.

* Epist. *R. Poli*, pars 4a, pag. 162.

carried up the Lift very high, and cited One whom *Longinus* quotes as a Pattern of eloquence. St. *Paul.*

PHILIP, on the receipt of this letter, ſent *Renardi*, who was the Emperor's Ambaſſador at the Engliſh Court, to *Bruſſels*, to inform the LEGATE of what had been already done in the affair of Religion, what omitted, and for what reaſons, and of every particular which had any connection with it; to lay before him the preſent ſituation of things, and adviſe with him of the means which ſeemed moſt expedient to bring them to a happy concluſion.—The LEGATE, in his anſwer, of which the ſame Ambaſſador was to be the Bearer, ſays, he had informed his Majeſty of every Article, on which he deſired his opinion, and, therefore, ſhould not trouble him any further, but referred him to his Excellence for all particulars *. 27th *Oct.*

ALMOST at the ſame time, the Queen's Ambaſſador at the Court of *Bruſſels* wrote to her the following letter.—" That CARDINAL POLE was come into thoſe parts on two errands: one to negotiate a peace between the Emperor and the French King; the other, to bring about a reconciliation of his Country with the Catholic Church: but, perceiving neither of them to take effect, he began to loſe all comfort.—That, as to the firſt, he quite gave it up; and if he did not ſpeedily perceive ſome likelihood of ſucceeding in the other, he ſhould be weary of ſpending his time to no purpoſe, and talked of returning to *Italy*.—That, ſhould this happen, he, indeed, would have the diſpleaſure of being deprived of his Country; but the Realm, in its turn, would loſe a perſon, who, for his wiſdom, learning, and eminent virtue, was ſought and honoured by every one who had the happineſs of his acquaintance.—That his converſation was much above that of *Maſon.*

 ordinary

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4a, pag. 168.

ordinary men, and adorned with such qualities, that he wished them an, who liked him the least in the Kingdom, was to converse with him but one half hour; that it must be a stony heart which he did not soften. And, to conclude, should he leave those parts without an opportunity of letting her Majesty's Subjects make any essay of his good qualities, he, the Ambassador, must think the story of the Gospel, in some sense, verified in the LEGATE's person, where the Inhabitants of *Gerasa*, on a fond and groundless fear, are related to have desired our Redeemer, who offered his presence to them, to depart from their Country.

Brussels, 5th *Oct.*

So many cogent motives founded on Religion and Reason, at length took place of what is called Politics; and the CARDINAL's return was resolved: and that it might be attended with every circumstance which could do honour to this illustrious Exile; and, in the first place, that his repeal might be an act of justice, not of grace, the cause of the attainder was rejudged, and the disgrace dignified. The Parliament, as has been said, was summoned on the 11th of *November*, and the first Bill brought before the Lords was the reversion of the

17th *Nov.* Attainder, which went through the House in two

19th. days. It was then sent down to the Commons, who read it thrice in one day, and sent it up. The Bill being to pass before the CARDINAL could come to *England*, a motion was made in the low-

22d *Nov.* er House, whether this could be done without making a Session, which must cause a prorogation? and it being resolved in the affirmative, the King and Queen came to the House and passed it. The Bill set forth, that the only reason of the Attainder, was the CARDINAL's refusal to consent to the unlawful divorce of the Queen's Father and Mother; and that their Majesties, and both houses of Parliament, in consideration of his conscientious behaviour in this affair, and his many excellent qualities, repealed

repealed the Attainder, and reſtored him to all the Rights which his uprightneſs alone had cauſed him to forfeit. The impreſſion of the Great Seal, which was put to this Act was, for greater diſtinction, taken off in gold.

EVERY thing being now agreed on for the LEGATE's reception in *England*, the Lords *Paget* and *Haſtings*, and a train of forty Gentlemen, were appointed to go to *Bruſſels*, to invite him to his native Country. They were both of the Privy Council, and the latter, Maſter of the Horſe, and married to *Catherine*, Daughter of Lord *Montague*, the CARDINAL's eldeſt Brother, who was put to death by *Henry* VIII. On their arrival, they acquainted the Queen of the ſatisfaction the Emperor had ſignified at the information they had given him of the ſtate of the Nation, and of what concerned Herſelf, *at which he rouſed himſelf with a merry chere*, and diſcourſed to them at large on the manifold advantages which were likely to attend this turn of affairs.—After this account of the audience of the Emperor, they inform the Queen of their waiting on the CARDINAL, of the joy with which he received them, and the gratitude and reſpect he expreſſed for the Queen. "His virtues, ſay they, cannot be ſufficiently admired; and, in particular, his moderation, and the command he has of himſelf, which make him ready not only to lay aſide the character of LEGATE, and come to *England* as a private Cardinal and Ambaſſador to her Majeſty, but agree to any other meaſures, which may be for the public emolument; and, as to what concerned the Abbey lands, all things ſhould be adjuſted ſo as to give general contentment."—They conclude, by informing her Majeſty, that the CARDINAL's weak ſtate of health did not permit him to take long journies; and, moreover, that regard was to be had to the dignity of his perſon: that, on the morrow, they ſhould

M 2 lie

lie at *Dendermond*; *Thursday*, at *Ghent*; *Friday*, at *Bruges*; *Saturday*, at *Nieuport*; *Sunday* at *Dunkirk*; *Monday*, at *Calais*; that no respect and attendance should be wanting on their part, as it was their duty to behave in this manner, and because the CARDINAL's merit made it their inclination *.

Brussels, 13th *Nov.* 1554.

SEVERAL Foreigners, who were distinguished for their abilities in public affairs or literature, attended the LEGATE to his Country; among whom besides his chief intimate *Priuli*, were his Secretary *Floribellus*, who has been so justly celebrated for the ease and elegance of his Latin style; *Stella*, and *Rollus*: and though the former was much advanced in years, and the other's health very infirm, and the LEGATE had used every endeavour to prevail on them not to hazard so long and difficult a journey, especially in the winter; the respect and affection they bore him, on account of a long acquaintance, and several friendly offices which had passed between them, made them both overlook whatever inconveniences they might apprehend, either from their years or infirmities. And though *Stella* died on the road, his Brother's son, a youth of exquisite judgment and learning, succeeded to the place his Uncle held in his Patron's esteem, and was very serviceable to him. It may be observed as a singular felicity which attended this great man, that of all those, who followed him out of *Italy*, and were in any degree of his esteem, *Stella* was the only one he lost in the future part of his life †.

THE LEGATE had taken leave of the Emperor the night before the date of the letter, I have last mentioned; and set out the following day, accompanied by a hundred and twenty horse. From

* Paper Office; copied by Bishop *Burnet*. Hist. of the Ref. part 3, b. 5; Col. of Rec. p. 237.

† Vita *Poli*, fol. 23.

From *Ghent* he wrote to the King, "to teſtify his ſenſe of the honour their Majeſties had done him, in writing to him in the moſt obliging manner, by two of their Privy Council, Lord *Paget*, Knight of the Garter, and Lord *Haſtings*, Maſter of the Horſe; who were moreover charged with verbal meſſages of the ſame gracious import, and appointed conduct him in his journey to *England*: for which inſtances of goodneſs, he hoped, in a few days, to ſignify to them, in perſon, all the gratitude he then felt *." *Ghent.* 16th *Nov.* 1554.

BEING arrived at *Calais*, he was received, agreeably to the orders the Queen had given with great magnificence, and found a Royal Yacht and ſix men of war in readineſs to wait on him to his Country. Here an incident happened, which was remarked by every one there preſent, and interpreted as a declaration of Heaven in his favour; and which, in whatever light it may now be looked on by the reader, I muſt not omit. The wind, which for ſeveral days, had been ſo contrary as to make the paſſage to *England* impracticable, and ſeemed as if it would continue ſo; on the very night of the LEGATE's arrival, became, on a ſudden, fair, and, in a few hours, conveyed Him and his retinue to *Dover* †. 20th *Nov.*

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4a. pag. 173.
† Vita *Poli*, fol. 26.

SECT. IX.

The CARDINAL, *reconciles the English Nation to the Church of* Rome: *Assures the Abbey Lands to the Lay Owners. Astract of an accurate Statute made by the Parliament on that occasion.*

On the vacancy of the See of Rome, *He is designed for the Papacy, by the Queen of* England *and the* French *Court: And is chosen Mediator between the Emperor and the* French *King, at the Congress of* Calais.

He calls a National Council, and publishes Constitutions for the Reformation of the English *Church.*

CARDINAL POLE was received at landing by the Lord *Montague*, his Nephew by his eldest Brother, whom *Henry* VIII. had put to death; by the Bishop of *Ely*, and several of the Nobility, among whom were some of his acquaintance and relations. In this company he set out for *London*, and was met on the road by a great concourse of people, and had the same honours every where paid him as at his landing, where he had been treated as a person of the Royal family, and one who came to restore the Nation to a blessing, of which it had been so many Years deprived. Being come to *Gravesend*, the Bishop of *Durham* and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who was one of the most considerable Noblemen of the Kingdom, complimented him on behalf of their Majesties, and presented him
22d *Nov.* with the Act, by which, on the foregoing day, he
1554. was restored to blood, the Attainder reversed, by which he had been banished and declared a rebel and an enemy to his Country, and he re-instated in all his honours and rights. That this proceeding might be attended with greater solemnity, and be more honourable to the person it concerned,

ed, the King and Queen, as has been ſaid, would, though contrary to cuſtom, be preſent when the Act paſſed, and the impreſſion of the great ſeal was taken off in gold. At *Graveſend* a Royal barge was in readineſs to carry him to *London* by water; and it being notified to him on the part of their Majeſties, that it was their pleaſure he ſhould now appear in the public character of LEGATE, the barge carried at her head the ſilver Croſs, which was raiſed in ſo conſpicuous a manner as to be beheld by an infinite multitude of Spectators, who covered both ſides of the *Thames*, while a great number of ſmaller barges acompanied him up the river till he arrived at *Whitehall*, where the Court then was.

THE Letters Patent by which the CARDINAL is authorized to exerciſe his Legantine juriſdiction, and which were preſented to him by the Biſhop of *Durham*, are to the following purpoſe: "Their Majeſties declare, that whereas it has pleaſed the Pontiff *Julius* III. to ſend their dear Couſin REGINALD POLE with certain authorities, graces and juriſdictions to be exerciſed in behalf of the Subjects of *England*; the ſaid LEGATE had accepted the commiſſion on the beſt of purpoſes; and the exerciſe of it was highly beneficial to the Realm: that, on this account his arrival in that character was moſt acceptable to them, and it was their pleaſure he ſhould exerciſe the ſaid juriſdiction in its full extent; and they were well pleaſed their loving Subjects ſhould have recourſe to him according to the nature and quality of the grace they ſtood in need of, and as they might have done in the twentieth year of the late King *Henry*." * 10th *Nov.* 1554.

THE King, and Queen, who did not expect him ſo early, were at table when he came to land; but,

* Ex Reg. *Poli*, fol. 66. and Conc. Mag. vol. *Bri.* 4. pag. 109.

but, as ſoon as his arrival was known, the Chancellor and ſeveral of the Lords went down to the water ſide to receive him : the King likewiſe came out to meet him before he reached the Palace, and embraced him with great marks of affection. The Queen, with the Ladies of the Court, received him at the head of the great ſtair-caſe, and publickly declared her joy on that occaſion to be equal to what ſhe had felt on aſcending the throne of her Anceſtors. Having ſtaid ſome time in conference with their Majeſties, and preſented them his Credentials, he was conducted to *Lambeth* by the Chancellor, the prime of the Nobility, and the multitude which had met him on the road. The Queen had given orders that the Palace, which was now vacated by Archbiſhop *Cranmer* lying under ſentence of death, for treaſon, ſhould be richly furniſhed, and had appointed the LEGATE a Houſhold and an Income ſuited to ſuch an Expence. The third day after, he went to Court, and the King, who came out of the Ante-chamber to meet him, delivered into his hands a packet of letters he had juſt then received. It was a diſpatch from *Rome*, and brought the LEGATE the moſt ample powers in order to accompliſh the great work of the Nation's reconciliation with the Catholic Church ; and the incident of its arriving at that critical juncture was interpreted as a declaration of Heaven in favour of a Cauſe which then engaged the attention of all *Europe*. The next day the King paid the LEGATE a viſit, and regulated every thing with him concerning this great Work, which was opened in the following manner.

ON the morrow, the 28th of *November*, the LEGATE, as had been agreed on, came to the Houſe of Peers before the King and Queen ; and the Chancellor informed the Lords and Commons, who were ſummoned to attend, that the CARDINAL was come a LEGATE from the Holy See to their

Majeſties

Majeſties and to the whole Realm; and having already declared to the former the purpoſe of his Embaſſy, he was about to make the ſame declaration to Them as Repreſentatives of the whole Nation.

THE LEGATE then roſe up and ſpoke to this purpoſe: Before he entered on the matter, he ſaid; "He had, for many years, been excluded not only from that Aſſembly, but alſo from his Country, by laws enacted perſonally againſt himſelf: that he returned their Majeſties and the Parliament his beſt acknowledgments for repealing thoſe laws, and ſhould ever be grateful for the good-will they had ſhewn him on this occaſion; that this favour of theirs was the more welcome, as it now furniſhed him with an opportunity of repaying it in a matter of ſtill greater importance to his Benefactors; that he had been reſtored by them to the place of his birth, and to a nobility which could boaſt no higher origin than the earth: but he was come to inſcribe them Denizens of a heavenly Country, and reinſtate them in that true and Chriſtian greatneſs which they had forfeited by renouncing a fealty, to which it had pleaſed Almighty God it ſhould be annexed. He then enumerated the evils they had been liable to ſince this defection; he inſiſted on the greatneſs of the benefit which was offered them, and on the peculiar attention the See of *Rome* had always ſhewed the *Engliſh* nation. He reminded them of their paſt errors, exhorted them to ſincere repentance, and to receive with a ſenſible and holy joy the reconciliation which he, as LEGATE to God's Vicegerent, was about to impart to them; and to that effect was inveſted with full power to receive them into the Church, as they, by repealing the Acts paſſed againſt himſelf, had opened his Country to him. That to reap ſo great a bleſſing, it only re-

mained that they ſhould repeal whatever they had enacted againſt the Holy See, and thoſe laws by which they had cut themſelves off from the body of the Faithful."

THE diſcourſe, which was long, was heard very favourably, and with great ſilence and attention; ſeveral, who were preſent, lifting up their eyes and hands, and ſignifying how deeply they were affected with it. When the LEGATE had ended, the Chancellor thanked him in the name of their Majeſties and the Parliament, for the good offices he had done the Nation; and ſaid, the Houſes would deliberate on what he had propoſed: and the LEGATE being withdrawn into an adjoining chamber, the Chancellor began a ſecond ſpeech from theſe words of *Moſes*, *The Lord ſhall raiſe up a Prophet to thee from amongſt thine own Brethren*; and having repeated and confirmed the chief points on which the LEGATE had ſpoke, he acknowledged himſelf of the number of the Delinquents; he ſet before them the greatneſs of the offered bleſſing; he exhorted them to riſe from their fallen ſtate, and diſpoſe themſelves to a reconciliation with the common Parent of All who are intitled to the Promiſes of the Goſpel: and thus the buſineſs of the day concluded.

ON the morrow the Parliament met again, and a return to the Communion of the Catholic Church being propoſed, it was agreed to with a general approbation. The following day, which was the feſtival of St. *Andrew*, the Apoſtle, both Houſes being aſſembled, the King ſent the High Chamberlain, the Earl of *Arundel*, attended by ſix Knights of the Garter and the ſame number of Prelates, to accompany the LEGATE to the Houſe of Lords. He came attired in his robes, and with all the types of his Legantine Juriſdiction, and was received by their Majeſties with every Demonſtration of reſpect; and the King being at the Queen's left

left hand, and the LEGATE at her right, though at a somewhat greater distance than the King, they were all three placed on seats raised on rich tapestry and under a very costly Canopy. The Commons being ordered to attend, the Chancellor briefly recapitulated what had been said and agreed on the day before, and asked them if they then ratified it, and desired to return to the unity of the Church and the obedience which was due to her chief Pastor? This proposal being assented to by the acclamation of the whole Assembly, he presented to their Majesties a Petition on behalf of the Members of both Houses, as Representatives of the whole Nation, setting forth their sorrow for the former schism, and for whatever they had enacted against the See of *Rome*, and the Catholic Religion; all which they now annulled, and beseeched them, whom God had preserved from any share in the guilt, to obtain of the Lord LEGATE to pardon and restore them again, as true and living Members, to that Body, from which they had separated themselves by their misdeeds.

THE King and Queen having read the Petition, returned it to the Chancellor, who read it audibly, so as to be heard by All. The whole Assembly then rose and went towards the LEGATE, who was got up to meet them; and the Queen, in her own and the King's name, petitioned him to grant the pardon and reconciliation sued for. On this, the LEGATE, when they had taken again their seats, caused whatever related to the powers, with which he was invested, to be read, and then set forth, in a pathetic discourse, the thanks which were due to the divine goodness, for granting them the present opportunity of cancelling their past offences: "Providence, he said, seemed to look on this Island with a particular complacency, having, first, called us, at a very early period, from Paganism to the worship of the true God;

God; and, now, when we had ſeparated ourſelves from his ſheepfold, had been pleaſed to give us a ſenſe and ſorrow of our tranſgreſſions, preferably to any other people who had been engaged in the ſame unhappineſs. If their repentance, he added, was anſwerable to the importance of the occaſion, and the heinouſneſs of the fault, what joy muſt it cauſe to the Angels of Heaven to be ſpectators of the converſion of ſo populous a Kingdom, they who rejoice at the return to duty of a ſingle Sinner?"

He then roſe from his ſeat, and every one being on their knees, except the King and Queen who were ſtanding, he pronounced the general Abſolution with a clear and diſtinct voice, and had ſcarcely repeated the names of the three Divine Perſons, with which it ends, but they cried out Amen, Amen. During the Abſolution, the Queen and many others ſhed tears of joy and piety; and it being now over, they All roſe up, and embraced one another, often repeating, *to day we are born again.* They then went to the Royal Chapel and returned thanks to Almighty God, by the Hymn which is ſung on all ſolemn occaſions; and this great work having been completed on St. *Andrew*'s day, the Legate afterwards procured a Canon to be made, in the Convocation of the Biſhops and Clergy, appointing this feſtival to be kept henceforward with peculiar ſolemnity. *

I cannot paſs over this memorable event without taking a review of ſome of thoſe cauſes which ſeem to have prepared ſo ſpeedy and univerſal a Revolution; one of the chief of which appears to have been the ſhort diſtance of time, which was not much more than twenty years, ſince *England* had

* Il retorno del Regno d' Inghilterra, &c. *R. Poli* Epiſt., pars 5ª. p. 303 et ſeq. Vita *Poli,* fol. 26, et ſeq.

had renounced the Religion, to which ſhe now returned, and which had been the national worſhip for above nine Centuries. The Reader has ſeen, in the former part of this Work, the motives which induced *Henry* VIII. to begin this change, and by what methods he enforced it on his Subjects; and the fluctuating ſtate both of principle and practice during all *Edward*'s reign. To the facts which have been already advanced I ſhall only add the authority of two Witneſſes, who, in this caſe, are above all exception; one of whom aſſigns very natural reaſons for the little ſatisfaction which ſenſible and well diſpoſed minds could find in ſuch novelties; and the other ſets forth, in a very impartial light, ſome Arguments, *which*, as he expreſſes himſelf, *may prevail on men of much reaſon and more piety*, to entertain a favourable opinion of the Religion, which the Nation now embraced. The firſt acknowledges, "that the licentious and diſſolute life of many of the Profeſſors of the Goſpel, and which was but too viſible in ſome of the more eminent among them; the open blemiſhes of ſome of the Clergy, who promoted the Reformation, contributed to alienate the People, to raiſe a general averſion, and to make the Nation entertain as advantageous a notion of the Religion they had quitted, as their prejudices had been ſtrong againſt it: and to look on all the innovations that had been made as ſo many inlets into all manner of vice and wickedneſs." *

"The members of the Roman Catholic communion, ſays the other Author, whoſe authority I have pleaded, may ſay, that their Religion was that of their Forefathers, and had the actual poſſeſſion of mens minds before the oppoſite opinions had even a name; and having continued in it through ſuch a length of time, it would be objected

* Bp. *Burnet*, hiſt. of Reformat. vol. 3. p. 217.

ed to them with an ill grace, that this was the effect of invention or design; because it was not likely that all ages should have the same purposes, or that the same doctrine should serve the different ends of several ages.—This prescription, moreover, rests on these grounds; that truth is more ancient than falsehood; and that God would not, for so many ages, have forsaken his Church and left her in error.—To this antiquity of doctrine is annexed an uninterrupted succession of their Bishops from the apostles, and particularly of their supreme Bishop from St *Peter*, whose personal prerogatives were so great; and the advantageous manner in which many eminent prelates of other Sees, have expressed themselves with regard to the Church of *Rome*. This prerogative includes the advantages of Monarchy and the constant benefits which are derived from that form of Government.—Nor does the multitude and variety of People, who are of that persuasion; their apparent consent with elder ages, and their agreement with one another, form a less presumption in their favour.—The same conclusion, he says, must be inferred from the differences which have risen amongst their Adversaries, and from the casualties which have happened to many of them; from the oblique and sinister proceedings of some who have left their communion; from the appellation of Heretick and Schismatic which they fix on All who dissent from them.—To these negative arguments he adds those of a more positive kind; the beauty and splendor of the Church of *Rome*, her solemn service, the stateliness and magnificence of her Hierarchy, and the name of *Catholic*, which she claims as her own due, and to concern no other Sect of Christianity.—It has been their happiness to be instrumental to the conversion of many nations. The World is witness to the piety and austerity of their

Religious

Religious Orders ; to the ſingle life of their Prieſts and Biſhops ; the ſeverity of their faſts and obſervances ; to the great reputation of many of their Biſhops for faith and ſanctity, and the known holineſs of ſome of thoſe perſons, whoſe Inſtitutes the Religious Orders follow." *

As the breach of the Nation with the Catholic Church was begun and carried on in the two latter reigns by renouncing the ſupremacy of the See of *Rome* ; the acknowledgment of this Article ſeems to have been the characteriſtic which diſtinguiſhed the return to the ancient Faith, in this. And though I am aware with what difficulty the proofs of the expediency, and, much more of the neceſſity of ſuch a means will be admitted, yet a knowing and judicious Reader might take juſt offence, ſhould I queſtion his deference for that which follows, or, to the authority which enforces it. " It is well known, ſays the learned *Grotius*, ſpeaking of himſelf, that I have always wiſhed to ſee Chriſtians reunited in the ſame Body ; and I once thought this conjunction might be begun by an union of Proteſtants among themſelves. I have ſince perceived that this is impoſſible, not only becauſe the Calviniſts are averſe to all ſuch agreements ; but becauſe Proteſtants are not aſſociated under any one form of Government, and therefore cannot be united in one Body, but muſt neceſſarily be ſeparated into other new ſects and diviſions. I, therefore, and many others with me, plainly ſee that this concord of Proteſtants can never be effected, unleſs they are united to the Roman See, without which no common Church government can take place ; for which reaſon I wiſh that the ſeparation, which has been made, and the cauſes of it, may ceaſe. Now, amongſt

* Dr. *Jeremy Taylor*, on the liberty of Prophecying.

amongſt theſe, the canonical Primacy of the Biſhop of *Rome* cannot, as *Melancthon* himſelf confeſſes, be placed; for he judges that very Primacy neceſſary in order to maintain and preſerve unity." *

The day after the reconciliation, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen waited on the Legate, and deſired him to honour the city with his preſence, in that character; and the firſt *Sunday* of *Advent* falling two days after, he went from *Lambeth* by water and landed at St. *Paul*'s wharf, and being now entered the City, was met by all Orders of it; and from thence proceeded, in great ſtate, to the Cathedral, the Croſs, the Pillars and ſilver Pole-axes being born before him. High Maſs was celebrated, at which the King and Queen and the Court were preſent. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* preached on theſe words of St. *Paul*, which are read in the leſſon of that day, *Brethren, it is now*
Rom. xiii. *time for us to awake from ſleep.*" He compared the ſtate they had been in, during the two laſt reigns, to that of men labouring under the illuſion of a dream, when reaſon is ſuſpended and appetite takes its full range; in which circumſtances, the indigent imagine they are wealthy, the wretched have an apprehenſion of pleaſure, and the infamous of honour: but when the trance is over, as the Royal Prophet with great elegance repreſents their

* *Grotius*'s laſt reply to *Rivet*, wrote a ſhort time before his death.

If the Reader would ſee the judgment of other Proteſtant Divines of our own country, on this point, he may conſult Dr. *Field*'s preface to his Book on the Church. Dr. *Hammond*, in his treatiſe on hereſy, § 13. N°. 2, 3, and his Comment. on 1 *Tim*. 3. 15. Dr. *Jackſon* on the Creed, b. 2. ch. 4. page 165. and Dr. *Ferne*; who all ſeem to extort from their Readers the ſame Conceſſion on this Article of the Catholic Faith, which St. *Paul* drew from *Agrippa* with reſpect to the Chriſtian Religion in general, *Thou perſuadeſt me almoſt to be a Chriſtian.* Acts, Ch. xxvi. V. 28.

their caſe, they find the whole to have been decep- tion. He enumerated the errors they had fallen into, the public and private calamities, to which they had been ſubject, and the enormities they had committed. He inſiſted particularly on the injuſtice and cruelty which the LEGATE had ſuffered in his perſon, in the death of his neareſt relations, and the confiſcation of his fortunes. He informed them of what had paſſed, a few days ago, in Parliament, and exhorted them to approve of it. He fancied he ſaw a great congruity in ſeveral incidents which marked out the particular time in which they were awakened to a ſenſe of their duty; the leaſt equivocal of which is, that it was brought about by means of the LEGATE. He confeſſed the ſhare himſelf had in the national guilt, and requeſted of his Hearers, that as they had been influenced by him, when he went aſtray, they would now followhim in his return to duty."*

THE cenſurers incured by the Clergy, in the late diſorders, were of a peculiar kind from thoſe of the reſt of the Realm; wherefore, on the Thurſday following, the Biſhops and others of that body met in Convocation, and, being on their knees, received pardon of all irregularities they had been liable to during theſe innovations.

IN this manner the ſubſtance of this great Revolution, with regard to all Orders of the Kingdom, was compleated: but though the Church poſſeſſions had been made over and ſecured by the Papal Authority, in very plain and ample terms, to the Lay Owners, as has been ſeen in the Decrees already cited on that head; and there could be no grounds to ſuſpect the validity of the conveyance; yet the object was too great not to engage all the caution of the intereſted parties. Accordingly, in See pag. 142 *et ſeq.*

* Excerpta per Archid. *Cantuar.* ex concione Epiſ. *Vinto.* *R. Poli*, Epiſt. par^r 5ª. pag. 293.

a Seſſion of Parliament, which was held ſoon after, this whole affair was recapitulated with an accuracy, of which we have few examples; and ſo large a ſhare of the lands of *England* was adjudged to thoſe, whoſe title, as to right, was very doubtful, and not only at their requeſt, who were deprived of them, but with a diſintereſtedneſs, which will ever do honour to their memory. The Reader may ſee the detail in our Statutes, where it is recorded in each particular; * but the ſubject of this hiſtory requires that I ſhould here give the chief heads of it.

THE Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons begin the Act "by acknowledging that many falſe and erroneous doctrines had been introduced ſince the twentieth year of her Majeſty's Father's reign, as well by the natural Subjects of the Realm as by Foreigners, which had cauſed both the Clergy and Laity to ſwerve from the obedience of the Apoſtolic See, and leave the unity of Chriſt's Church: and that this defection had continued till her Majeſty, being raiſed by God and placed on the throne of her Anceſtors, the Pope had ſent hither the moſt Reverend Father in God, CARDINAL POLE, his LEGATE, to recall the Nation to that right way, from which they had ſo long ſtrayed. That, during this interval, they had been afflicted with many grievous calamities; but being, at length, through God's goodneſs, become ſenſible of their paſt errors, they had acknowledged them to the ſaid LEGATE, and been received by him into the unity and boſom of Chriſt's Church. They had experienced this indulgence, they ſay, by virtue of their Majeſties ſuing in their behalf; and upon their own humble ſubmiſſion and promiſe to repeal ſuch Statutes as had been made againſt the See of *Rome*, ſince the above-mentioned

* Anno 1° et 2° *Phil.* et *Mar.* c. 8.

oned year." Here they inſert the ſeveral Acts and Clauſes made againſt the Pope's Supremacy, and ſome Articles relating to Diſcipline; which are repealed and annulled.

THEY then go on to declare, "that being thus admitted into the unity of the Catholic Church, the obedience of the holy See, and the Pope governing the ſame, they were likewiſe deſirous that all occaſions of ſtrife, ſuſpicion, and trouble ſhould be removed. The Biſhopricks, therefore, and other religious Foundations, which they enumerate, and had been erected ſince the Schiſm, according to the laws of the Realm, were, in this view, confirmed, marriages contracted within the degrees forbidden by the Canons were ratified, and the offſpring declared legitimate; and judicial Proceſſes made before the Ordinaries, or, on appeal, before Delegates, were declared to ſtand good in law.

THE property of Church lands and revenues is the next Article, on which the Lords and Commons enter; and they ſet forth, "that to avoid any further ſcruple which might ariſe on account of ſuch poſſeſſions, or of the ſuppreſſion of Monaſteries, and other Religious Foundations, which were come into the hands of divers perſons, either by gift, purchaſe, or exchange; it had pleaſed their Majeſties to intercede with the LEGATE in favour of the actual Poſſeſſors; and that the ſame moſt Reverend Father in God had declared, that all perſons, to whom a ſufficient conveyance, according to the common laws of the land, had been made of the ſaid lands and poſſeſſions, might, without any ſcruple of conſcience, enjoy them; and that they ſhould ſuffer no moleſtation on pretence of decrees of General Councils, or of the Canon Law; and be clear from any danger of the Church's cenſures.

HERE, they inſert the petition preſented to the

King and Queen on this ſubject, by the Biſhops and Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, which is to the following purpoſe, " That, although in virtue of their character, and the reſpective Offices they filled, they were the natural Guardians of the Rights and Poſſeſſions of the Church, and therefore it might ſeem incumbent on them to endeavour to recover whatever had been loſt or ſcattered in the late Schiſm; yet, after a mature deliberation on the whole affair, they ingenuouſly confeſs how difficult, and even impracticable ſuch a recovery would be on account of the many intricacies in which theſe dealings have been involved; and ſhould ſuch an attempt be made, the peace and tranquillity of the Kingdom would be diſturbed; and that unity with the Catholic Church which the piety and authority of their Majeſties had now eſtabliſhed, could hardly be advanced ſo as to gain its deſired end. Wherefore, as they preferred the public quiet to all private conſiderations; and the ſalvation of ſouls, ranſomed by the blood of Chriſt, to all earthly goods; and did not ſeek their own profit but the glory of their Redeemer, they gave their aſſent to whatever ſhould be enacted in this affair, and beſought the Lord Legate not to be reſerved or difficult in ſuch diſpenſations.—At the ſame time, not to be wanting to what they owed to their reſpective ſtations, " they humbly entreat their Majeſties, that they would cauſe that liberty and juriſdiction, without which they could not exerciſe their ſeveral functions, to be reſtored to them; and to provide for the neceſſities of the Churches of their Kingdom, particularly of the Parochial and others to which the care of Souls is annexed."

At this place, both Houſes turn again their diſcourſe to the King and Queen, to whom they addreſs themſelves through this long and accurate Statute,

Statute, and rehearſe, at full length, the Decree, by which the LEGATE had granted theſe Diſpenſations, and wherein is confirmed whatever had hitherto been declared by the Act.—The LEGATE particularly declares, that the Poſſeſſors neither of the moveable nor immoveable goods of the Church ſhould ever be liable to any cenſure or Eccleſiaſtical puniſhment for detaining and not reſtoring them: that, by this decree all power was taken away of ever giving a different judgment in theſe affairs; and if any thing of this kind ſhould be attempted, it was, by the preſent Act, declared to be of no effect." — Notwithſtanding this ſentence, which was penned with the ſame latitude of indulgence as if it had been dictated by the intereſted parties, the LEGATE had obſerved; "that, whereas the diviſion of Biſhopricks, and the foundation of Cathedral Churches were of the number of thoſe greater Cauſes, which are reſerved to the Pope, recourſe was to be had to him, and a petition preſented, that he would be pleaſed to confirm or renew the diſpoſitions already made on theſe heads."

HE had, moreover, declared, "that though the diſpenſation extended indiſcriminately to the actual Poſſeſſors of all moveable Church goods, yet he had admoniſhed them to place before their eyes the ſeverity of God's judgments on *Belſhazzar* King of *Babylon*, for appropriating the ſacred Veſſels to a profane uſe, tho' not He, but his Father had taken them out of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*; and that this example ſhould prevail on them to reſtore all ſuch Veſſels to the Churches, to which they had formerly belonged, or to others. He had, likewiſe, exhorted all thoſe whom it might concern, and entreated them through the bowels of mercy of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, that, from a regard to

their own eternal lot, they would provide out of the Church lands, ſuch eſpecially as had been ſet aſide for the maintenance of the Parochial Clergy, a competent ſubſiſtence for thoſe who exerciſed that charge, which might enable them to live creditably according to their ſtate, and perform their functions, and ſupport the burden of their calling."

Having related this Decree at full length and in Latin, their Lordſhips and the Commons return their moſt dutiful thanks to their Majeſties, by whoſe means it was obtained; and then go on to enact, that all theſe Diſpenſations ſhall be received into the Body of the Engliſh Laws, to be alledged and pleaded either by the Plaintiff or Defendant, in all Courts, Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal: and whoever, by any proceſs obtained out of any Eccleſiaſtical Court, whether within or without the Realm, ſhould moleſt any one on account of Abbey or other Church lands, is declared to incur the forfeitures contained in the Act *Præmunire*. But they make a proviſion, that it ſhall be lawful to ſue at any competent Court, within the Realm, for tythes, rights and duties that were to be raiſed on the ſaid poſſeſſions, in as ample a manner as before this Statute was made.

" They further declare, that though the title of Supreme Head of the Church of *England* never was nor could be lawfully attributed to any Sovereign Governor of this Realm, nor in any wiſe be lawfully claimed by them; yet that all Letters Patent and other writings, which had been iſſued out in that ſtyle, might be kept and pleaded.--- The Papal Diſpenſations, alſo, and other Decrees of the Court of *Rome*, which had been made void in *Henry*'s reign, were to have their former force; and, if it could be made to appear, they had been cancelled,

cancelled, they might be pleaded in as available a manner as if they were entire."

At the diſſolution of the Monaſteries, ſeveral Pariſh Churches and Chapels, which till then had been exempted from Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, and ſubject to the Abbots of theſe Houſes, were now under colour of theſe exemptions, and by grants from the two laſt Kings, transferred to the government of Laymen.—"The Parliament, therefore, declares that all ſuch juriſdiction ſhall hereafter be exerciſed by Spiritual perſons: for which proviſion this high Court of Judicature aſſigns the following reaſon, that Lay Patrons can no more enjoy a Supremacy over particular Churches, than the King might over the whole Realm.—A Clauſe is added in favour of the two Univerſities, and ſome other privileged places; and of ſuch temporal Lords and Poſſeſſors as by ancient cuſtom had enjoyed the probat of their Tenants or others, Wills."

The laſt Articles of this celebrated Statute are truly becoming the religion and dignity of the Britiſh Legiſlature; for having acknowledged, in a foregoing part of the Act, the Supremacy of the See of *Rome*, and that no ſuch claim could have been uſed by the Sovereigns of this Realm; "they here aſſert the independence and high prerogative of the Imperial Crown of *England*, againſt whatever may ſeem to derogate from it; and firſt, they obſerve, that after the union of this Noble Realm to the Body of Chriſt's Church, it is to be truſted, that, by the abundance of God's grace and mercy, Devotion will encreaſe in the hearts of many of the Britiſh Subjects, with a deſire to beſtow their worldly poſſeſſions for the reſuſcitating of alms, prayer, and the example of a good life in this Realm; and to the intent that ſuch godly motions and purpoſes ſhould be advanced.—They declare, therefore,

that it ſhall be lawful to give, or bequeath by Will, Manors, Lands, and other Kinds of poſſeſſions, to any Spiritual Body politic or corporate within the Kingdom, notwithſtanding the *Mortmain* Acts: but this clauſe for giving liberty to amortize lands and tenements, was only to continue in force during the ſpace of twenty years."

Having, in this manner, made the neceſſary proviſion for what concerned Religion and the revival of Piety, they conclude, as has been ſaid, by declaring that nothing in the preſent Statute, or in the Preambles to the ſeveral Articles of it, ſhall be conſtrued to derogate from the pre-eminence of the Britiſh Crown, which was to remain as in the twentieth year of her Majeſty's Father's reign; and the Biſhop of *Rome* was reſtored to the authority and juriſdiction, which by reaſon of his Supremacy, he might at that time have exerciſed, without diminution or enlargement.—The Biſhops, and other Ordinaries, are, likewiſe, reinſtated in the Juriſdiction they had, in the ſame year, as to proceſs of ſuits, puniſhment of crimes, execution of the Church's cenſures, and knowledge of Cauſes belonging to any of theſe heads.

There is a remarkable order and propriety in the diviſion of the Articles of this Statute, which leads the Reader from one to another with no leſs diſtinction than if he was to be brought acquainted with only a ſingle one of them; and each is enounced with an energy ſuitable to the ſubject matter. The ancient phraſe, in which they are penned, gives a gravity to the compoſition beyond all the graces which our preſent language can boaſt; and our beſt Writers will admire, in what was written above 200 years ago, thoſe manly beauties which are ſo much ſuperior to all the poliſh of modern art.

These transactions are so honourable to the Church of *Rome*, that no one will wonder the Adversaries of that Communion, because they could not deny the facts, should either misrepresent them, or, like the Poet, call off the Reader's attention from the principal Action to incidents which fancy forms round it. It has been objected, from *Fra-Paulo*, that when the English Ambassadors came to *Rome*, some short time after the Act I have cited, was passed, *Paul* IV. Successor to *Marcellus*, who only filled the Pontifical Throne a few Days after *Julius* III. signified to them his displeasure that the Church Lands were not given back, and insisted on the necessity of a restitution, as such dispensations were beyond the extent of his power.—But to say nothing of this Author's want of good faith on so many other occasions, the account he here gives is sufficiently refuted by the Journal of the House of Commons, which informs us, that after other proceedings, a Bull of the Pope was read, which confirmed what the Lord Cardinal had done concerning the assurance of Abbey lands:" * and this final Decree, by which these possessions are excepted from all future revocation seems to have been granted by *Paul* IV. at the requisition of Cardinal Pole; for he lets *Philip* know, he had wrote to have it sent immediately; and expected the return of the Messenger, who was to bring it. †—*Dugdale* is no less clear on this point, and produces a special decree of the same Pope, which confirms the lands held by Sir *William Petre*:

Æn. l. 4. v. 165.

* Journal of the House of Commons, *October* 21, 1555.

† De Bullâ autem, quâ hujus Regni bona Ecclesiastica ab ejus Sanctitatis revocatione nominatim excipiantur, scripsimus, ut primo quoque tempore mittatur. Nunc mei Nuncii reditus expectatur, cui eam perferendam dare cogitabant. 16 *Septemb.* 1555. *R. Poli*, ep. p. 5. pag. 42.

tre : * nor is there the leaſt trace of what *Fra-Paulo* aſſerts, either in the Journal of the Conſiſtories, which the Pope held on this occaſion ; † or in his letter to the King and Queen, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter, and where every thing material to the buſineſs is ſet forth at length.

But though the Pontiff never annulled any of theſe Grants, yet his auſtere temper, and the animoſity he had formerly conceived againſt the Engliſh Cardinal, of which there will be occaſion to enter into a detail elſewhere, might have cauſed him to tell the Ambaſſadors, he had behaved with too great facility, and given up too much, and without a ſuitable conſideration.

A further cavil has been frequently urged, alike deſtitute of truth and candour ; that there was no real deſign of making over the Church lands to the Lay Owners, but that the whole affair was a fraud which ſtill left room for reſumption. ‡ But the malignity of ſuch abuſe can only reflect diſhonour on the Authors of it ; and has been ſufficiently refuted through the whole ſeries of this narrative.—The plainneſs, likewiſe, and ſimplicity of *Becatelli's* account, who was the Legate's Secretary, is a no leſs advantageous argument in its

* Monaſ. vol. 3, fol. 207.

† See *Reg. Pole's* letters, part 5. pag. 132, and the following.

‡ A letter from Sir *William Coventry* to Dr. *Burnet*, printed with ſome other papers in 1685. This piece was anſwered with great judgment and ſolidity by *Nath. Johnſton*, M. D. a Gentleman of the Church of *England*, in a treatiſe intitled, *the Aſſurance of Abbey and other Church lands to the poſſeſſors.*—Dr. *Burnet* abets likewiſe the above-mentioned inſinuation, by a papal Decree concerning Church lands in the Kingdom of *Naples* ; in which the affairs of *England* are no more concerned than the ſettlement of the Britiſh Crown in the Pragmatic Sanction. *Appen. to the Hiſt. of the Ref. pag.* 367. But every thing was an offenſive weapon in the Biſhop's hands, when the Catholic cauſe was to be annoyed, and he might have taken for his Motto,

Dolus an Virtus quis in Hoſte requirat ?

its favour.—Having, firſt, commended his Lord's zeal in perſuading the Queen to give up the Church lands which were inveſted in the Sovereign; and which, as by the expreſs declaration of the Statute I have quoted, ſhe was at full liberty to do, during twenty years, he adds; "it was judged adviſeable, with the Pope's conſent, in order to avoid further diſturbances, that no inquiry ſhould be made concerning ſuch poſſeſſions, which were promiſcuouſly occupied over the Nation; but to leave to each one's determination to act in this caſe as he thought fit *."—This relation of the Hiſtorian is greatly corroborated by the tenth Article of the Aſſembly of the Clergy, which CARDINAL POLE convened the next year; whereby, though future alienations were prohibited, the Grants already made by the authority of the holy See, are declared to be no longer ſubject to reſumption †.---The ſame is atteſted by *Camden* and *Heylin*, both very candid Hiſtorians, and the former a very knowing Antiquary ‡.

THE Poſſeſſors, therefore, of Church lands have all the ſecurity which the nature of the caſe admits; and no private property ſeems to be held by ſo firm a tenure. The public good and tranquillity both of the Church and State was the inducement

* Ac, ne qua turba excitaretur, placuit, conſentiente Pontifice, nil de reliquis bonis quæri, quæ paſſim multi poſſidebant; ſed liberum omnibus relinqui id agere quod quiſque vellet. *Poli* Vita, fol. 32, à tergo.

† Exceptis tamen ſemper iis, quæ circa bona Eccleſiaſtica, antè ab Eccleſiâ ablata, jam authoritate Apoſtolicâ conſtituta ſunt. Conc. *Mag. Brit.* t. 4, p. 125

‡ The Revenues taken from the Church by *Henry* and *Edward*, were confirmed to the Queen and the preſent Poſſeſſors. *Camd.* Introd. to the Annals of *Eliz.* p. 8.

Pope *Julius* iſſued out a decree with ſome reaſons which might ſeem to induce him to confirm all ſuch lands on the preſent Occupants. Dr. *Heylin*, Pref. to the Hiſt. of the Refor.

ment to this conveyance, in which the authority of the See of *Rome* confirmed the petition of a National Clergy which was the injured party; and the unanimous conſent of the whole Legiſlature of a great People: all which was ratified by the LEGATE's full power and actual diſpenſation.—Could a tranſaction, which carries with it every condition by which human compacts are rendered ſtable, ſtand in need of any weight which the Writer can give it; I think it may be affirmed, that nothing leſs than the joint concurrence of all the Parties, who aſſented to this agreement, can either annul or invalidate it: and I have entered on this detail, becauſe, from views which need not be indicated, no part of our hiſtory has been related with more want of good faith, and left the Reader open to greater prejudices.

THE Houſes did not break up on the memorable day, on which the Nation's reconciliation with the Catholic Church was completed, 'till four of the Clock; yet the LEGATE, the ſame evening, diſpatched an Expreſs to the Pope with the news of this great Event.—The congratulation is drawn from every topic which ſo copious a theme afforded; and "he particularly felicitates himſelf, that notwithſtanding his fears leſt the long averſion which the Nation had entertained to the holy See might cauſe him to deſcend to ſome unbecoming conditions; he had experienced the effect of his earneſt entreaty to their Majeſties, that no ſuch diſagreeable incident might happen.—The whole affair, he ſays, had been tranſacted in the general Council of the Nation, and in the preſence of the Sovereigns, with an univerſal ſatisfaction; and the diſcourſe, by which he delivered himſelf, and the benediction, with which the general abſolution is cloſed, was received with the unanimous approbation of All preſent. This, ſays he, is a ſtrong indication, that the original principle of right belief, in

this

this People, though long ſuppreſſed, ſtill retains its primitive vigour *." My joy, he adds, is equal to the importance of ſo deſirable an event, of ſuch advantage to the holy Church, ſo honourable to the Princes who were inſtrumental to it, and ſo ſalutary to a Country which firſt gave me birth, 30th *Nov.* and now receives me from baniſhment. 1554.

THE King, likewiſe, on the ſame day, wrote to the Pope a letter of great reſpect, and informed him, " that the Kingdom by the unanimous conſent of their Repreſentatives, had teſtified an unfeigned repentance of their paſt miſdemeanors, and no leſs ſatisfaction for having yielded their obedience to the holy See, and being abſolved, by the LEGATE, at the Queen's and his, the King's interceſſion.—The joy which theſe relations occaſioned at *Rome*, was ſignified to the LEGATE by Cardinal *Moron*, who takes notice particularly, that *Philip*'s letter had even made an impreſſion on the French, who were there †.

BUT this Revolution was too intereſting to be communicated only to the Court of *Rome*: and the French King having treated the LEGATE, when he was at his Court, with a diſtinguiſhed good will, the latter judged it a decency he owed that Monarch to inform him of the late Event. As the commiſſion with which the Pope had charged him

* Non poteram non in aliquo timore verſari ob eam difficultatem quam afferebat noſtrorum hominum abalienata à Sede Apoſtolicâ Voluntas: ſed multo magis verebar ne ingreſſus in cauſam aliquâ interpoſitâ minus honeſtâ pactione inquinaretur. Quod quidem ne accideret vehementer egeram cum Regibus.—Acta eſt res in Concilio totius Regni, præſentibus Regibus, tantâ omnium conſentione et plauſu, ut cùm ego verba feciſſem, ad extremum benedictione abſolvendâ, ab Univerſis certatim mirificâ voluntatum ac ſtudiorum ſignificatione acclamatum ſæpius ſit. Ex quo planè perſpectum eſt in his populis ſanctum illud ſemen, etſi diu oppreſſum, non tamen extinctum fuiſſe. *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ª, pag. 1.

† *Ibid.* pag. 92.

him to endeavour a reconciliation between the Houſes of *Auſtria* and *Valois*, ſtill ſubſiſted, he made both theſe articles the ſubject of his Letter.—" I could do no leſs, ſays he, than write to your Majeſty, on the happy change which *England* has lately ſeen, eſpecially as it was brought about by the ſame upright meaſures which I always judged moſt ſuitable to the accompliſhment of a peace between your Majeſty and the Emperor. This ſentiment has induced me to congratulate your Majeſty on ſuch an inſtance of the divine mercy, as I well know from what you have been pleaſed to ſay to me on that ſubject, how agreeable it will be to you: and to ſignify how rejoiced

30th *Dec.* 1554. I ſhould be to contribute to the other reconciliation, with which I am charged.—He wrote to the ſame purpoſe, to the Lord High Conſtable of *France*, who held a diſtinguiſhed place in his Prince's favour; and requeſts of him to uſe his prudence and authority to cauſe the King to enter into the pacific diſpoſitions he had recommended to him.

THE French King, by a very obliging letter, aſſured the LEGATE of the ſhare he took in the news he had communicated to him; and in the circumſtance of his being choſen by Providence to be the inſtrument of ſo great a Bleſſing. Your zeal, my Lord, ſays he, your ſincerity, and your ſkill in the management of affairs, has chiefly contributed to ſo ſalutary a work; and the Title I enjoy of moſt Chriſtian King, which ſhould remind me to place what concerns the worſhip of the ſupreme Being above all other conſiderations, has cauſed me to praiſe Almighty God, and order my whole Kingdom to praiſe him, for the moſt welcome intelligence I could ever have heard. As for yourſelf, my Lord, my congratulations with you are perſonal; and I ſhall, hereafter, love and eſteem you, in a higher degree than I have yet done,

done, for having brought this great affair to a happy iſſue; and likewiſe, for the inclination, which, from a regard to the public good, you ſhew for peace between the Emperor and myſelf * ." *Dec.* 1554.

SUCH Letters, I know, are generally ſuppoſed to mean much leſs than the words imply; but though they may not always indicate the Writer's real ſentiments, they are an acknowledgement of thoſe diſpoſitions which he is conſcious would become him on the like occaſions.

SOON after the Queen ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to *Rome*, to acknowledge the ſupremacy in her own and the King's name, and that of the whole Nation. The Biſhop of *Ely* was to perform this on the part of the Clergy; Lord *Montacute*, the LEGATE's Nephew, on that of the Nobility; and Sir *Edward Carne*, who remained the Queen's Ambaſſador in ordinary, for the Commons. They ſet out towards the end of *February*; and the French King, notwithſtanding the Queen's partiality to the Emperor, had given orders to have them received in all places of his dominions, thro' which they paſſed, with great honour, and have every convenience furniſhed them at his expence †." Some time before they began their journey, the LEGATE had ſent a very honourable teſtimony of them to the Pope, and had entered on a particular detail of the merits of each. He had likewiſe, ſignified to him, " that as *Ireland* had been erected into a Kingdom during the Schiſm, and other public concerns which were tranſacted in that interval, having been confirmed by the authority of the holy See, their Majeſties were deſirous that this alſo might receive the ſame ſtability, before the arrival of their Ambaſſadors at

* Ambaſſades de *Noailles*, tom. 3. pag. 324, et ſeq.
† *Ibid.* tom 4. pag. 189.

at *Rome*. On this account, they ordered him, whom they had appointed Protector of their Realms at his Holiness's Court, to ask this in their names, as he then did. That as to the Protectorship, since his absence did not allow him to perform the duties which it brought with it, he had already requested Cardinal *Moron* to take on himself what concerned *England*; and he now made the same petition to Cardinal *Carpo* in favour of *Ireland*; that as he had formerly exerted his good offices towards that Island, he would still continue them in his, the LEGATE's stead.—He moreover, entreats the Pope to remit to the new Bishops the usual fees for their Patents, on account of the dilapidation to which all their Sees had been exposed through the calamities of the late years; and he shews how deserving they were of this indulgence: But he adds, that the Bishop of *Worcester* *, who many years during the two last reigns had subsisted on the liberality of the Court of *Rome*, had, from a sense of his obligations, desired

Dr. *Rich. Pates.*

* This Prelate was born in *Oxfordshire*, and having received the first part of his education at *Corpus Christi* College, finished it at the University of *Paris*. On his return home he was advanced to several Church preferments, and employed in a public Character at the Emperor's Court. In 1539 he was consecrated Bishop of *Worcester*, and sent again to the same Court, but refusing to come back to *England*, on a dislike to *Henry* VIIIth proceedings, in 1547 he was deprived of his Spiritualities and attainted of high treason. He remained in banishment during *Edward*'s reign, and sat in the Council of *Trent*. Queen *Mary* recalled him to his Country in 1544, and restored him to the See of *Worcester*. On the succeeding revolution, under *Elizabeth*, he was, a second time, deprived of his Bishoprick, for refusing the oath of Supremacy; and, going abroad, assisted at the close of the Council of *Trent*, and therefore must have been alive in 1563. Bishop *Pates* was learned and of a peaceable disposition; and, though zealous for the faith of his Ancestors, was averse to all violent proceedings on account of Religion. Godw. de Præ. Ang. *Fox*, year 1559. Hump. in vitâ Juelli, 1573, pag. 179. Ath. Oxon. p. 694.

desired this favour might not be extended to him." * London, 10 March, 1555.

This letter was scarcely sent when advice came of the death of the Pope *Julius* III. and of *Marcellus Cervini* having been chosen to succeed him. 23d Mar. 9th April. His eminent virtue had connected him very intimately, when he was a private Cardinal, with our Countryman, as appears from the many letters which passed between them, which are still extant, and the tears which he shed at the news of his death. On the first information of this election he immediately signified to the Pontiff the joy he had received from it, and the expectation it had raised in the whole Christian world of seeing the church reformed no less by his example than his ordinances.—He lets him know, at the same time, that he had been chosen to negotiate a peace between the Emperor and the French King, at a congress where the respective Ambassadors of these princes were to give him a meeting: and being to execute this commission on the part of the holy See, he desires the Pope's orders with respect to the conduct he was to observe in the whole affair †. Richmond, 1st May. These expectations vanished by the sudden death of *Marcellus*, which happened on the twentieth Day after his election, and whilst the English Ambassadors were on their road to *Rome*, and his successor was chosen a few Days after.

In the mean time the incident of the death of 23d May. two Popes gave the Courts of *England* and *France* an opportunity of shewing what their concurrent sentiments were of CARDINAL POLE: and tho' the shortness of time which intervened between each election did not allow them to procure the supreme post of honour to his merit, they had not failed to signify their own sense of it.—The

* *R. Poli*, Epist. pars 5a, pag. 4.
† Ibid. pag. 7.

Queen's orders, on this occaſion, to *Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and high Chancellor, to the Earl of *Arundel* and the Lord *Paget*, who were then at *Calais*, on a project of peace, between *France* and the Emperor, are to the following purpoſe.—" She begins by telling them, that, in order to redreſs the various evils which afflicted the whole ſtate of Chriſtendom, much would depend on raiſing a fit perſon to the Papacy; and ſhe was aware of the great inconveniences which muſt befal the common cauſe, if worldly conſiderations alone were conſulted: ſhe would, therefore, for the diſcharge of what ſhe owed both to God and the World, uſe her beſt endeavours that a perſon might be choſen, without further delay, who was qualified to fill up the meaſure of this character; and ſhe knew no one ſo likely to do it as her deareſt Kinſman, the Lord CARDINAL POLE.—That, as he had, many years been univerſally acknowledged deſerving of that high ſtation, on account of his great learning, his experience, and the integrity of his life, ſhe wills them to take a favourable opportunity of treating, in her name, with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the Lord Conſtable, and the other French Commiſſioners, that this election may be promoted by the French King, and the Cardinals who were in his intereſt; and, if it took place, ſhe makes no doubt but his Majeſty and every one elſe would have cauſe to rejoice and give thanks to God.—She aſſures *Henry*, that had ſhe known any one more worthy of that eminent ſtation, no perſonal attachment ſhould have prevailed on her to give her Kinſman the preference; ſhe calls on the ſearcher of hearts to witneſs the truth of this declaration.—They might, alſo, certify him, on her word and honour, that ſhe made this overture to him without the conſent or knowledge of the CARDINAL; and that any other mention of

his

his wiſdom, ſincerity, and other excellent qualities, was needleſs, as theſe were known to her good Brother the French King, and to the reſt of *Europe* *." *Hampton-Court, 10th May, 1555.*

The letter here cited, enters on a much larger detail of what I have only ſet down the ſubſtance: but the French King wanted no inducement beſides his own inclination and eſteem, to advance CARDINAL POLE to the Popedom. As ſoon, therefore, as he had advice of it being vacated, he ordered the High Conſtable of *France* to write to the Lord of *Noailles*, his Ambaſſador at the Engliſh Court, " that, from an uncommon opinion of his goodneſs, and the ſingular affection he bore him, he was deſirous of ſeeing him in a Poſt equal to his merit, and had omitted nothing, at this juncture, to advance him to the Papacy; and if he, the LEGATE, knew any good office, which might contribute to it, the King deſired to be informed, as he had nothing more at heart than that this opportunity might not eſcape them †." *Chantilly, 10th May.* — This letter was accompanied with another to the LEGATE, which was to be delivered by the Ambaſſador; and he informs the High Conſtable, " that He read it with great attention, and teſtified his obligations to the King for his gracious purpoſes in his regard; and truly, ſays the Ambaſſador, his good qualities are ſo eſtimable, and his whole character ſo much above all blame, that I do not think there is any one living, who can have any objection to it ‡." *15th May.* —The ſuddenneſs of the election, as has been

 ſaid,

* An Original in the *Cotton* Lib. Titus b. 2. produced at length by Bp. *Burnet*, Hiſt. of the Refor. part 2, p. 282, of the Col. of Records, N°. 18.

† Ambaſſades de *Noailles*, tom. 4, pag. 301.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 305.

ſaid, firſt of *Marcellus*, after *Julius*; and then of *Paul*, after *Marcellus*, ſtopped any further proceedings in this affair, and we only learn from it, that two rival Courts, who had oppoſite views in all other concerns, ſeemed to vie with each other, and to have but one common intereſt when the commendation of CARDINAL POLE was the theme, or his advancement the prize.

WHILST theſe meaſures were concerting at the Courts of *England* and *France*, the Ambaſſadors of the former arrived at *Rome*, and made their entry into the Capital of the Chriſtian world the day on which *Paul* IV. was
5th *June*. crowned; which was a circumſtance he looked on as honourable, and which carried with it a preſage in favour of his election. They entered *Rome* with a numerous and ſplendid retinue, and ſuited to the ſolemnity of the occaſion, on which they came; and five days after, in the firſt Conſiſtory which was held after the Pope's coronation, he admitted them to his preſence.—They proſtrated themſelves at his feet, and, in that poſture, acknowledged the errors of the Schiſm, and the other miſdeeds of the Nation, which they enumerated in ſome detail.—They confeſſed, in particular, the ill return they had made for the many inſtances of love and regard, by which the holy ſee had diſtinguiſhed them; and humbly craved pardon for all.—After which the Pope raiſed them from the ground, embraced them, and, in their perſons, received the whole nation into his favour *.—So great was his ſatisfaction at an Embaſſy of ſuch importance, that He wrote to the King and Queen an account of the audience he had given to their Ambaſſadors; out of which, as it is greatly recommended

* Ex Actis Conſiſtorialibus, part of which are cited *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ª, p. 132.

mended by the dignity of the Relator, I ſhall give the Reader the following extracts.

"HE informs their Majeſties, that Lord *Montague*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and Sir *Edward Carne*, being arrived at *Rome* on the 5th of *June*, had audience of him in the Princes' Hall, five days after; at which the Cardinals, the foreign Ambaſſadors, a great number of Biſhops and Prelates, all His own Court, and the whole body of the Roman Nobility were preſent.—That they had made, in the Nation's name, a proper ſubmiſſion for paſt errors and failings, and had been received into his fatherly boſom and embrace.—That he had ratified whatever the Engliſh LEGATE had done; and, as far as might any ways be neceſſary, had enacted it anew.—That, when the whole was over, the Biſhop of *Ely* had pronounced ſo pathetic and pertinent a diſcourſe, as to move the Hearers to tears.—As to what concerns the LEGATE, ſays the holy Father, there is nothing which either their Majeſties or himſelf could do for his honour and emolument, but what was inferior to his probity and other virtues, and to what he deſerved of him, the Pope, of the holy See, of their Majeſties, and the whole Realm *."

THE Ambaſſadors delivered likewiſe, a letter from the LEGATE to the Pope, in which after the uſual compliments, "he mentions with great complacence the hopes he entertained of ſeeing a Reformation, which was ſo much deſired and ſo much wanted, effected by a Pontiff, whoſe former life had been remarkable for regularity, and thoſe virtues, the practice of which he was to revive in others.—The undertaking, he owned was attended with great difficulties, yet was of ſuch a nature, that whoever engaged in it 30th *June*.

 ſeriouſly,

* Ex Actis Conſiſtorialibus, pag. 136.

ſeriouſly, would meet with great comfort; and that the whole Chriſtian world would rejoice in proportion as they perceived his Holineſs took this work to heart; and if Chriſtians in general, and the perſons of his, the LEGATE's profeſſion, more than others, were bound to aid him in this laudable attempt, he thought it needleſs to produce Vouchers for the promptitude of his own obedience in this particular. He ſhould therefore wait the orders his Holineſs ſhould be pleaſed to give him, as ſoon as he was informed in what ſituation the affairs were, with which the two late Popes *Julius* and *Marcellus* had entruſted him *.

THE Pope, at the ſame time, and at the requeſt of their Britannic Majeſties, erected *Ireland* into a Kingdom; and as the petition, in conſequence of which this conceſſion was made, may now ſeem very extraordinary to an Engliſh Reader, he may not be diſpleaſed with a brief narrative of the reaſons of it.—The petty Princes of that Iſland having been aſſiſted, in the 12th century, by *Henry* II. againſt the invaſions of the Danes and Swedes: they, in their turn, acknowledged Him for their Sovereign, and paid him tribute. The King deſired *Adrian* IV. to ratify this ceſſion, and confirm his claim to the Country; which that Pope granted, on condition he would endeavour to eſtabliſh Chriſtianity in its purity, and pay a certain annual acknowledgement to the holy See: and the ſucceeding Kings of *England*, for near 400 years, conſidered *Ireland* as part of their domain, though it ſtill continued to pay obedience to particular Governors, who were native Iriſh.—*Henry* VIII. in 1541, took the title of King of *Ireland*, which, in the following year, was confirmed to him by Parliament: but as this was done during the Nation's ſeparation from the Church of *Rome*, *Philip* and

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5a, pag. 11.

and *Mary* were deſirous that, when the Schiſm was ended, it might be ratified by the Pope *.

THE LEGATE had accompliſhed a Work, which required a zeal and abilities as enlightened and extenſive as his: and now a foreign great exigence called him forth, in which, if he had not the ſucceſs he met with in his own Country, his integrity and talents for negotiation appeared to no leſs advantage, and were acknowledged with equal applauſe.—A long and deſtructive war had depopulated the Empire and *France*, and CARDINAL POLE, as we have ſeen, had been employed at both theſe Courts, to negotiate a reconciliation, and had addreſſed a fine diſcourſe, of which the Reader has ſeen the contents, to the intereſted Princes. Theſe endeavours, though they had cauſed the French to admire his parts and uprightneſs, had no other effect on the Emperor than to give him a pretext of taxing the LEGATE with partiality; and the treaty was dropped. But the happy termination of his late tranſactions in *England*, had given him ſuch a figure in *Europe*, as made it difficult to determine which of thoſe qualities which conſtitute a great and good man appeared with more ſuperiority; and there was no undertaking to which he was not judged equal. Though the war between *Charles* V. and *Henry* of *France* ſtill continued, they both ſeemed willing that a treaty of peace might again be attempted, and the French Ambaſſador had ſignified to the Count of *Montmorency*, that it would be very deſirable that he ſhould be appointed to preſide, on the part of the moſt Chriſtian King; and the Duke of *Alba*, on that of the Emperor, at the Congreſs which was to be held for that purpoſe †.

* The Bull of this conceſſion bears date, 7th of *June*, 1555. Ex Actis Conſiſtorialibus, Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 5a, pag. 136.

† Negociations de *Noailles*, tom. 4, pag. 63.

The Legate, likewiſe, who, as the Ambaſſador expreſſes himſelf, had undertaken this affair, had wrote to the French King, to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and to the Count of *Montmorency*, in order to give an opening to the negotiation; and, that none of the formalities might be wanting, he had let them know, he was appointed by the Pope to aſſiſt at it *. Soon after, the Prothonotary *Noailles*, Brother to the Ambaſſador, came over to compliment the Queen on the happy change of the Realm, and brought with him letters to the Legate, from the French King and his Miniſters, in anſwer to the overtures he made of peace; and the conferences were accordingly renewed. The Chancellor *Gardiner*, who was the next perſon to the Legate both in office and authority, of thoſe who aſſiſted at them, had ever been in the intereſts of the Emperor and his Son *Philip*, and therefore the French ſuſpected all his declarations, and the meaſures he propoſed; and whenever any thing concerning the peace did not go on with ſuch expedition, or in the channel they deſired, they never failed to impute it to the influence which he had with the Queen and the Legate, and the perverſe uſe, they imagined he made of it: on which the two Brothers expreſs themſelves with remarkable bitterneſs †.—He was not aſhamed to tell me, ſays the Prothonotary, in the account he gives of this conference to the Count of *Montmorency*, that he was doubtful if the Legate's abilities were anſwerable to ſuch an undertaking, unleſs he was aſſiſted by perſons more expert than himſelf: on which he entered into ſuch a fit of jealouſy, that I was obliged to ſooth him, by anſwering, that you, my Lord, had ſo high an opinion of him, as to deſire that the Queen

* Negociations de *Noailles*, tom. 4, pag. 63.

† *Ibid.* pag. 119.

Queen and himſelf, if they thought proper, would take part in the negotiation, on account of the ſincerity of the one, and the authority of the other, and the juſtice of the cauſe, and the uprighneſs of the intentions of the King my maſter: and that his Majeſty would have made no difficulty to have left the management of the whole affair to them, as far as was conſiſtent with honour and reaſon: to which the Chancellor abruptly replied: that though the Queen and himſelf had a very ſincere deſire of ſeeing peace eſtabliſhed between the contending Powers, yet as they were looked on to be biaſſed towards one of them, they could not decently interfere in it: that the LEGATE, who was ſoon to paſs the Sea, was the only perſon, from whom this ſalutary office could be expected; but yet, he ſhould think himſelf very happy to contribute all within his power, if you, my Lord, judged he could be ſerviceable to it *.—This was the after-game which *Gardiner*'s diſappointed ambition played: and the French King let the Prothonotary and his Brother know; that he had always had a a confidence in the LEGATE's good faith and ſincerity, anſwerable to the diſtruſt he lay under of the contrary qualities in the Emperor and thoſe of his faction, to whoſe intereſt the circumſtances he was in, muſt, in ſome ſort, have made him hitherto favourable †.

BOTH theſe Miniſters ſeem to have entertained a very diſadvantageous opinion of our Countrymen, and the younger of the Brothers writing to the Lord High Conſtable, on a conference he had with the Chancellor, " your Lordſhip, ſays he, may judge from hence what ſmall dependance can be laid on the greateſt perſonages of this nation, ſince they are ſo addicted to change even in affairs of

* Negociations de *Noailles*, tom. 4, p. 120.

† *Ibid.* tom. 4, p. 179.

of the higheſt concern *:" and the elder Brother, in a letter to the King, " though the Engliſh in general, ſays he, ſeem thoroughly bent on entering on meaſures prejudicial to *France*, they were ſo variable that he did not think they were yet come to any fixed reſolution: nor did the wind veer to every point of the Compaſs with more unexpected changes, than their minds to the moſt oppoſite ways of thinking: thus, though *Philip* and *Mary* deſired to bring about a peace, as *Noailles* aſſures the Count of *Montmorency*, more earneſtly than any of the King's Subjects in *Picardy*, which was lain waſte by fire and ſword, nothing was obtained †."

THE LEGATE, at firſt, inſinuated that the Queen and himſelf were deſirous this treaty might be carried on in *England*; but on *Noailles*' remonſtrating, that a neutral place on the Continent, where the Deputies on each party might meet; and the LEGATE aſſiſt as not engaged on either ſide, would be more ſuitable; he very ingeniouſly acknowledged this to be the moſt expedient means, but doubted if the Emperor and his Son would be eaſily brought to aſſent to it. At length the Preliminaries to the Congreſs, which are as circumſtantial as the prelude to a feat of Chivalry, were adjuſted; and it was agreed, that the Emperor ſhould ſend the Duke of *Alva* to *Gravelines*, as a perſon of ſuitable rank to the High Conſtable of *France* ‡, who was to come to *Ardres*, on the part of that Nation. The Engliſh LEGATE had likewiſe ſignified his deſire that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* might aſſiſt at the conferences; and the Emperor

* Negociations de *Noailles*, tom 4, p. 123.

† *Ibid.*

‡ The firſt Officer of the Crown of *France*; he commanded the Army after the King, and before the Mareſchals, and took place next to the Princes of the blood. This Office was ſuppreſſed by *Lewis* XIII. in 1627.

Emperor having no perſon of equal dignity with this Prelate, that part of the ceremonial was ſuperſeded. The Lords *Paget* and *Arundel* were to arrive with the LEGATE at *Calais*. The place fixed for the meeting was *Marc*, a village ſituated near *Ardres*, *Guignes*, and *Calais*; not far from which the Queen had cauſed an extemporary building, in form of a ſquare tent, conſiſting of four Pavilions, to be raiſed in a large plain, which was at an equal diſtance from *Calais* and the frontiers of the Empire and *France*. The ſpace between the Pavilions was incloſed with curtains, and ſurrounded with a ditch and paliſades. The LEGATE occupied the lodgment to the eaſt, and the Engliſh Noblemen and others, who came with him, that to the weſt: the quarter of the Germans was to the ſouth: that of the French to the north. In the centre of the Pavilions was a ſpacious room covered with linen, and hung with rich tapeſtry, where the conferences were to be held. They began towards the middle of *May*, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* and the Lord High Conſtable had ſome private meetings with the LEGATE, in order to facilitate what was to be afterwards debated with the Emperor's Agents. But as this method was perceived to be but ſlow, all the Miniſters met, and though the points in queſtion were debated with great temper, yet each of the contending parties inſiſted, with ſuch obſtinacy, on their ſeveral pretenſions, that from the firſt general conference, it was ſeen they would come to no agreement. The LEGATE, on this, propoſed another expedient, which was to chuſe Arbitrators, who might adjudge, in an amicable manner, whatever was the ſubject of contention, and to cement by intermarriages an union thus concluded *. But though the

1555.

* *Elizabeth* of *France* was propoſed for Don *Carlos*, only Son of *Philip* of *Spain*; and *Margaret*, Siſter of the French King, for the Prince of *Piedmont*.

the French ſhewed no diſlike to theſe alliances, and the Imperial Miniſters ſeemed to approve of them; it was on condition that the former ſhould give back whatever they had conquered in the late wars *. This the French ſaid would be giving up the cauſe to their Adverſaries, and they deſired the LEGATE, and the Engliſh Agents, to find out ſome more friendly and practicable expedient. This was the reſult of the conference held on the laſt of *May*, and as neither party would make an abatement in what they demanded, nor reſign any thing to their Adverſary; on the 8th of *June*, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Count of *Montmorency* informed the French Ambaſſador at the Engliſh
8th *June*, 1555. Court, that the conferences were broke up †.

THE LEGATE's integrity in this nice conjuncture had been ſo acceptable to both parties, that, as the proſpect of peace was not quite loſt, the Emperor, during the remaining part of the year, frequently propoſed it might be again renewed under his mediation: and, when a truce was agreed on, at the beginning of the following year, the French Ambaſſador, writing to his Court, expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms; I have met with more equity from the Engliſh Government ſince the LEGATE is in the Miniſtry, than ever be-
April, 1556. fore:" and elſewhere he ſpeaks in the moſt honourable manner of his abilities, his pacific diſpoſition, and impartial proceedings towards the French nation ‡.

THE firſt thing the LEGATE did on his return to *England*, was to ſend the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* to *Rome*, to give the Pope an account, by word of mouth, of the ſtate of Religion, and of the manner

* The French inſiſted on the reſtitution of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the County of *Aſt*: and the Emperor on that of the States which go by the name of the Three Biſhopricks, to himſelf; and of *Savoy*, to the Duke of that title.

† Ambaſ. de *Noailles*, t. 4, p. 343, &c.

‡ *Ibid.* tom. 5. pag. 335.

manner in which he had acquitted himſelf of the negotiation between *France* and the Emperor, with which the two laſt Popes had charged him *. 24th *June*, 1555.

ABOUT the ſame time the Governor of Don *Carlos*, *Philip*'s ſon, having prevented the LEGATE by a very obliging letter, he thought it becoming his own high ſtation, and the good opinion he had of the perſon to whom this charge was committed, to ſet before him, with freedom, the principal inſtructions he judged ſhould be inſtilled into the mind of a young Prince; which, as they come ſo well recommended, muſt, I make no queſtion, be acceptable to the Reader.—" The chief leſſon, ſays he, which thoſe, who would rightly command others, ſhould learn, is to obey; for though this be neceſſary to every age and condition, it is more ſo to the Offspring of Princes than to any other Perſons, as Kings themſelves are wont to be led aſtray by nothing more frequently than an imagination, that the great privilege of Royalty conſiſted in being above controul.—This miſtake, therefore, which they imbibe in early youth, was to be avoided, and they were to be made ſenſible, that no excellence could be expected from them, unleſs they ſhewed a greater docility and obedience than their Subjects, firſt, to the *Supreme Being*; in the next place, to the *Laws*, and to their Parents and Preceptors.—That they were to perform this on a very different principle from that on which perſons of a ſervile diſpoſition ſubmit to the will of others; and what thoſe do through fear, Princes are to perform from a love of rectitude, and of their own acord.—Next to theſe virtues, generoſity and fortitude are what chiefly become a Sovereign, and if you illuſtrate the precepts by which your Royal

Honorato Juan.

* *R. Poli*, Epiſt. pars 5ª, pag. 14.

al Pupil may be inſtructed in the true knowledge of them, I had almoſt ſaid, you had done your taſk.—What induced me, he adds, to write in this manner, is, that there is nothing in which Mankind is more univerſally deceived, than in their notions of theſe Virtues.—But if the young Prince, who was committed to Don *Honorato*'s care, was trained up to the obedience he had mentioned, and to diſtinguiſh counterfeit fortitude and prudence from what was true, he knew whatever was requiſite for the due diſcharge of the duties of Royalty; whereas, without this, tho' he poſſeſſed all the knowledge Books could convey, he would be unfit to govern others *.

Richmond, 8th *July*, 1555.

PHILIP had now been about a twelvemonth in *England*: the little progreſs he made in the good will of his new Subjects, and, which was a conſequence of their diſlike, the ſlender influence he had in the Councils of the Nation, made the following occaſion of his departure not only welcome, on account of what he was called to, but of what he left. The Emperor *Charles* V. had, many years before, cauſed his Brother, *Ferdinand*, to be choſen King of the Romans, and he was now about to make over the Empire to him, and to relinquiſh his Spaniſh dominions to his Son; and *Philip* ſet ſail for *Calais*, in order to meet his Father at *Bruſſels*, where the abdication was made with great ſolemnity. Before the Emperor put his Son in poſſeſſion of ſo wide a domain, he diſcourſed him a conſiderable time, ſeveral hours of the day, on the Art of Government †; in which, as appears by his ſpeech to the aſſembled States, before he reſigned his Kingdoms, he thought himſelf a great Maſter ‡. Such leſſons are generally

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5a, pag. 78.

† *Materen*, fol. 15.

‡ *Strada*, de Bello Belgico, Decas 1, l. 1, p 7.

generally received with an indifference equal to the ſelf-complacence with which they are given; but here the ſchooling was ſo entirely thrown away on the Pupil, that it operated the very reverſe of what was intended: for whereas moſt of the Emperor's advice was directed to perſuade moderation to his Son, to correct his own pride, and the haughty behaviour of the Spaniards towards the Flemings, *Philip* ſeemed to pique himſelf on the oppoſite behaviour.

THE King, before he left *England*, deſired the LEGATE to be abſent as ſeldom as poſſible from the Qeeen, who had ſignified, likewiſe, the ſame deſire. He had appointed him Chief of the privy Council, and ſignified to the Queen, who had an implicit deference to all his inclinations, and in this was not led more by her Huſband's choice than her own, that nothing which concerned the Government ſhould be concluded without his knowledge and approbation. The LEGATE objected to this commiſſion, as little ſuited to the ſpiritual character with which he was inveſted; and the Lord of *Noailles*, in a letter to his Court, written immediately on *Philip*'s departure, ſays, "he modeſtly declined a poſt which would have engaged him too much in the concerns of the World *." But their Majeſties having ſignified their pleaſure in terms which admitted of no reply, he ſubmitted on condition he might be at liberty to give the greater part of his time and attention to ſuch functions as were proper to his ſtate of life: And as a preſent inſtance of his deference to their will, he took up his apartment in the Palace at *Greenwich*, where the King had taken leave of the Queen, to whom, ſays the ſame Ambaſſador, his converſation was a very ſeaſonable relief in the affliction ſhe lay under for her Huſband's abſence †.

16th *Sept.* 1555.

ABOUT

* Negociations de *Noailles*, tom. 5, pag. 125. † *Ibid.*

About this time, the Pope began to manifest a malevolence to the Legate, which had long cankered in his breast; and he let him know his design of recalling him to *Rome*; but added, he would not resolve on this measure till the affair of the See of *Canterbury* was determined, and he was informed more thoroughly of the likelihood of bringing about a peace between *France* and the Emperor, of which he seemed very desirous *. On the Legate's signifying to the King the Pope's intentions, that Prince had replied, that he should with great regret be deprived of so able a Minister, and so worthy a Man; and that both he and the Queen would use all their interest with his Holiness to prevail on him to lay aside any such thought: to which He returned this memorable answer, "that though the love of our Country was common to him and all mankind; and his personal attachment to *England* was attended with that peculiar endearment which a return from banishment to what we love, brings along with it, yet what retained him with such satisfaction, was not so much an affection to his native soil, as the tie of piety, justice, and clemency, by which their Majesties connected him to it, and without which he could neither be useful to his Country, nor his Country agreeable to him †.

Peter Soto, soon after *Philip*'s departure, visited the university of *Oxford*, and informed the Legate, he found Scholastic Divinity much neglected; that no public lessons were read in that Science;

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 5a, pag. 42.

† Etsi unicuique jucunda sit Patria, quæ mihi post longum exilium jucundissima, ut est, sic esse debet; tamen quod in eâ me libenti animo retinet, non tam est ejusdem Patriæ amor, quam pietatis justitiæ et clementiæ Majestatum Vestrarum vinculum, quod me cum Patria conjunxit; sine quo nec ego Patriæ utilis essem, nec illa mihi. *Ibid.* p. 44.

Science; and he was of opinion it would be proper to explain *the Maſter of Sentences* *, and was willing to take this leſſon on himſelf. The LEGATE informed the King he had communicated this propoſal to the Chancellor, and they were both of opinion, it would be adviſeable to appoint the leſſon here mentioned to be read inſtead of the Hebrew, which, for many years, had been little frequented †. But then it muſt be obſerved, that theſe two able men and great Scholars would have only one leſſon of School Divinity be read, and not, as has been too univerſally the practice ſince, the greateſt part of the time and application be given to it: which is much the ſame as if an Artiſt was to lay himſelf out in forming a mould without one thought of caſting the Statue. For though School Divinity is by no means, the whole of Eccleſiaſtical learning, nor even the chief part of it, yet, ſtudied with diſcretion, it has great advantages, and the moſt eminent writers of the Church, a *Boſſuet*, a *Bellarmine*, a *Peteau* made great account of, and excelled in it; and *Soto*, who here offered himſelf to be Profeſſor, poſſeſſed in a great degree moſt branches of learning.—Whether *Peter* of

* *Peter*, a native of *Lombardy*, from whence he had his ſirname, was, firſt Divinity Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Paris*; and in the year 1156, named to the Biſhoprick of that City.—He was remarkable for the acuteneſs of his parts, and great reading.—A Theological Treatiſe, in which, as in a Common-place Book, the chief queſtions in that Science are ranged under their ſeparate heads, gave him the title of *the Maſter of Sentences*.—This Work, in its kind, and for an age that knew nothing more uſeful and accurate, is very eſtimable, and the reputation it gained has cauſed ſeveral eminent perſonages to employ their parts in writing Commentaries on it, inſtead of exerting themſelves in original Productions, which might have been more inſtructive to Students in Theology, and more agreeable to thoſe who were advanced: to ſay nothing of the ſwarms of Writers of another claſs, who have brooded over this Work with the ſame fecundity as Inſects on the banks of the *Nile*.

† *R. Poli*, Epiſt. pars 5a. pag. 47.

of Lombardy be a proper Standard of this branch of the Science in queſtion, is a diſquiſition foreign to this Hiſtory: ſo far, I think, may be advanced, that whatever he might have been in that age, he would not be ſo in the preſent.

HUMAN literature, at the time I am ſpeaking of, was not leſs neglected than divine; and ſeems to have been falling off ſoon after it had been revived by *Latimer*, *Linacer*, and others, when young POLE was at the Univerſity. The Speech made
11th *Aug.* a few years after to Queen *Elizabeth* on her viſiting
1566. *Oxford*, is a boyiſh declamation; and the letter written to her on her ſafe arrival at her Palace, ridiculous bombaſt *, and is moreover, vilified by a Pun †. This degeneracy was owing to the national Convulſions, under which our Country laboured through almoſt all that ſpace, and with which the attainments of erudition have ever been incompatible. The great names which have ſince graced this celebrated Seat of Learning, and ſtill continue to do honour to it, have cauſed this Chaſm to be forgotten, and enrolled the Sons of *Iſis* in the faireſt Records of Literary Fame.

THIS regulation concerning Studies was one of the laſt actions of Biſhop *Gardiner*'s life. His health, for ſome time, had been on the decline; notwithſtanding which he was preſent in Parliament a few days before he died, and ſpoke with ſuch ſtrength and preſence of mind, that, as the LEGATE informs the King, " he ſeemed, on that occaſion, not only to ſurpaſs himſelf in eloquence and prudence, and thoſe other qualifications which conſtitute a Stateſman; but to be ſo ſuperior to his own bodily infirmities, as not to give any indication

* They may be ſeen among other papers publiſhed with Sir *Thomas More*'s life, by *T. Hearne*, 1716.

† Ergo tuam Celſitudinem, non dicam, ut Numen; dicam certè, ut Numam veneramur.

tion of them whilſt he was ſupporting the cauſe of his Sovereign and his Country."—In the ſame letter, which gave *Philip* advice of this Miniſter's death, He ſignifies the loſs which the Public ſuſtained by this incident, and the great detriment which both Religion and Juſtice would ſuffer, was the place to be long vacated; and that a few days experience had let them into this knowledge.—That he wiſhed it was not more difficult to indicate a proper perſon to ſucceed to the Office, as the King required him to do, than it was eaſy to ſee what ſort of Magiſtrate the preſent circumſtances ſtood in need of; for though there were ſeveral, of whom he thought well, yet the Poſt was ſo important, and the conjuncture ſo delicate, that he did not dare to recommend any one *."—He takes up the ſame ſubject in ſeveral other letters to the King; though he could not but be conſcious of the jealouſy which *Gardiner* had borne him; and, perhaps, of his machinations to obſtruct his return from baniſhment; yet his mind was ſuch a ſtranger to revenge, and the welfare of his Country ſo much above all private reſentments, that he only conſidered him as a great Miniſter, whoſe loſs was irreparable †. The dignity having been vacated ſome weeks, *Nicholas Heath*, Archbiſhop of *York*, at the LEGATE's recommen- 1ſt *Jan.*
dation, ſucceeded to it ‡. 1556.

P 2 It

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5. fol. 48.

† *Ibid.* pag. 52, et 54.

‡ This great Prelate and Magiſtrate was educated at *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Oxford*, and thence removed to *Clare* Hall in *Cambridge*. He took his degree of doctor in Divinity in 1535, was Almoner to *Henry* VIII. and conſecrated Biſhop of *Rocheſter* four years after. He was tranſlated to the See of *Worceſter*, in 1543; but at *Edward*'s acceſſion, on refuſing to concur with the Court meaſures concerning Religion, was committed to the Fleet priſon, where he remained during that Prince's reign.—His temper and principles inclined him to moderation,

It will be expected I ſhould not leave ſo celebrated a name as Biſhop *Gardiner*'s, without ſaying ſomething of thoſe many Articles which make up his character, on ſome of which he ſtands arraigned in the minds of the generality of the Engliſh of theſe days, and which, though a Panegyriſt might gloſs over, an Hiſtorian ought to relate.—It muſt be confeſſed, on the whole, that he had many failings, and ſome faults which cannot be excuſed: that he had great eloquence, and univerſal knowledge; abilities equal to each ſtation to which he gradually roſe, and always filled ſo as to attract the public obſervation. This will appear, if we neither form our opinion of him from elogy or invective, but from facts; and take into the eſtimate the various temper of the Reigns he lived in, the nature and

deration, and made him an Advocate for thoſe who were perſecuted for hereſy, and againſt the revival of penal laws which concern it.—On *Mary*'s acceſſion he was appointed Lord Preſident of *Wales*, and Archbiſhop of *York*; and on *Gardiner*'s death, high Chancellor.—He acknowledged the Princeſs *Elizabeth*'s title to the crown, at her Siſter's death, and met her at *Barnet*; and, with the other Biſhops, made her an offer of his allegiance, on his knees. The See of *Canterbury* being vacant, it was Dr. *Heath*'s place to officiate in chief at the ceremony of the Coronation, which he would not do, as the princeſs refuſed to maintain the catholick Religion, of which ſhe made profeſſion during her Siſter's life. All the other Biſhops followed his example, till *Oglethorp* of *Carliſle* was, with much entreaty, prevailed on to put the Crown on her head.—On the firſt meeting of the Parliament, he opened it by that memorable ſpeech, of which mention has been made elſewhere; and being ſummoned to take the oath of Supremacy, on his refuſal, was deprived of all his Dignities and committed.—He ſpent the remainder of his life at *Cobham*, in *Surry*, where he was a Priſoner at large, and had a ſmall eſtate, which he was allowed to enjoy.—The Queen retained that regard for him, which ſuperior merit ſeldom fails of extorting from an Adverſary, and ſometimes viſited him.—He died in 1579, and is buried in the Chancel of the Pariſh Church of that place.

An original picture of this excellent Perſonage is preſerved at *Weſton* in *Warwickſhire*, the ſeat of *William Sheldon*, Eſq; to which family he was allied.

and circumſtances of the affairs he managed, and the means by which he acquired *Henry*'s eſteem; the cauſe of his diſgrace under his Succeſſor; and his behaviour when he was reſtored to favour and authority under *Mary* *.

* *Stephen Gardiner* was born in 1483, as appears from an original picture of him by *Hans Holbein*, and was educated at Trinity Hall in *Cambridge*, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his diligence, ready parts, knowledge of the Greek tongue, and great elegance in ſpeaking and writing Latin.—Theſe qualifications recommended him, firſt, to Cardinal *Wolſey*, to whom he was Secretary; and afterwards, in 1528, when he was eſteemed the ableſt Civilian in *England*, to the King, who employed him at *Rome* to ſolicit the cauſe of the Divorce.—A long letter, ſtill extant, (*Cartophylac. Reg. Biog. Brit.* p. 2093. *Burnet*'s *Hiſt. of the Ref. among the records joined to vol.* 2. p. 297.) ſhews the ſtrength and politeneſs of his genius, and the purity of his language, which is but little antiquated at ſo great a diſtance of time.—He was, afterwards, appointed Secretary of State, (*Lord Herbert's Life of Henry* VIII.) and in 1531, conſecrated Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and ſat with *Cranmer*, when the latter pronounced the ſentence of divorce between the King and *Catharine* of *Aragon*.—He took another courtly ſtep in 1534, and maintained the King's Supremacy, by a diſcourſe *on true Obedience*; and, during this reign, his pen had no other direction than *Henry*'s caprice thought fit to give it.—He appeared in a different character on *Edward*'s acceſſion, and was committed to priſon for not complying with the innovations which then took place; but was ſet at liberty in 1547.—He was again committed to the Tower in the following year, and deprived of his Biſhoprick, as the Proteſtant Hiſtorians grant, without ſufficient cauſe. (*Biog. Brit. as above*, p. 2117, [FF) and continued Priſoner till that Prince's death.—Queen *Mary* reſtored him to the See of *Wincheſter*, declared him Chancellor, and was crowned by him.— As to the chief objection under which his character generally labours, of having been the Inſtigator of the cruelties which were inflicted on account of Religion both in *Henry*'s and *Mary*'s reigns, the caſe has been fairly ſtated by a very curious and impartial Writer of the Church of *England*, who ſeems to clear him, in great meaſure, of the imputation. (*Biog. Brit.* p. 2099, 2021.) He adviſed the Queen, on her entrance on Government, to Acts of lenity; to give back to ſeveral noble families, as the *Norfolk*, *Arundel*, *Stanhope*, and *Hungerford*, what the Crown had diſpoſſeſſed them of; and to reſtore to blood the Earl of *Devonſhire*,

Some exigencies of these times, of which I am about to speak, gave the Legate occasion to convene a National Synod, which he notified to Philip, in the following manner; "I have found it, Sir, very necessary, in quality of the Character, with which I am invested, to call a Synod, not only on account of the Reformation of the English Church, which is ardently desired by all good men, and can never be undertaken more seasonably than in the present juncture; but, also, that I may ratify what the Bishops and inferior Clergy have done in the Convocation they are accustomed to hold as often as the Parliament meets *. As this could not be duly summoned either by the Primate, who is in prison; or by the Chapter, whilst their Arch-bishop is neither condemned nor deposed; it was necessary this summons should be made by me, the Legate, in order to have the Decrees, one of which concerns the Free Gift, come out under proper authority. I have been very

shire, and the Son of the Duke of *Somerset*.—His attention to the spirit of the Constitution, in preference to every thing else, and particularly to Royal and Ministerial Power; and his care to exclude foreign influence from British Councils, except in the instance of the Queen's marriage with the Prince of *Spain*, can never be too much commended: what share he had in that match, and his jealousy of Cardinal Pole, has been already related.—His abilities as Chancellor are attested, as we have seen, by a Voucher above all exception, the person whom he rivaled: and the Journals both of the Convocation and Parliament, which are still preserved, are abundant proofs of his weight in these Assemblies, no less than *Noailles'* Negotiations of that which he had in the Ministry. To these Monuments of the Magistrate and the Statesman, we are to add those of the Scholar and the Writer, which tho' neither many nor voluminous, sufficiently shewed the Author's abilities.

* The whole transaction may be seen in *Reg. Convoc. et Excerpt. Heylianis*; from whence it has been transcribed into *Conc. Mag. Brit.* t. 4, p. 120.

very particular with them concerning your Majesty's and the Queen's intention in giving up the Church Lands which were invested in the Crown, and of the disposition you would have made of them.---It was, likewise, agreed to draw up an Act of the surrender of the said lands, first fruits, and perpetual tythes; and release your Majesties from all pensions which were paid out of the profits issuing from them.—This Bill was read to the Queen, and, by her order, communicated to some of the Council. They have since been with me, and assured me of their concurrence; and that it was their opinion, the Bill should be, first, brought into the Upper House *. 11th *Nov.*

IN the following letter he says, "it was apprehended a difficulty would attend the Proposal in question, as it could not pass without their vote who were in possession of Church lands, whose number was very great: and, therefore, the Queen had discoursed several of both Houses on the subject, with so much religion and prudence, that the Bill having been read three days together in the Upper House, had been universally agreed to on the third reading †: and though it was several days, warmly debated in the Lower, was, at length, carried by a much greater Majority than was expected ‡. 1555.

AT the same time he wrote to the Pope of what had been done in the Convocation, and a summary of the Decrees which were to be enacted in the approaching Synod.—He informs him also of his design to send proper persons to *Ireland*, which stood no less in need of Refor-

 mation

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 5a, p. 51.
† *Ibid.* p. 53.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 56.

mation than *England*, and both expected and desired it *.

HITHERTO the LEGATE had only removed the obstacles to the great work he meditated; and had prepared the surface for a foundation, on which he proposed to rear the structure of his Country's future happiness. The Representatives of the nation had abjured those tenets, into which they had either been seduced or compelled during the two last Reigns, and been received into the communion of the See of *Rome*.— The Abbey Lands, which was a capital obstacle to this reconciliation, being now secured to their Possessors, had quieted all fears of any future claim arising from this head. The LEGATE had also procured his commission should be enlarged; and had signified to all, the lenity they should be treated with on having recourse to him for absolution from those censures to which their transgressions had rendered them liable. This measure, above all others, reconciled the minds of the People to a return to the ancient worship, when they beheld the Instrument not armed with terror, but inviting with the indulgence of a Parent, and the benevolence of a Friend. He had the favour and confidence of his Sovereign, and the esteem of the whole English Nation, founded on his universal knowledge, the various trials by which his virtue had been exercised, and the approved merit of his past life: and it must be confessed, that the undertaking he was about to attempt, required all these advantages, and a mind as patient and inured to application as his own.

THESE dispositions, therefore, were the Prelude to the Reformation he had projected, and began in the following manner.—He obtained of the

* *R. Poli*, Epist. pars 5a. pag. 19.

he Queen a Warrant under the Great Seal, to hold a Synod; and, to avoid the after game and chicanery to which the ambiguities of the laws, or prerogative of the Crown might give occasion, he was authorized to hold, not only the present Synod, but any other hereafter, and to make what decrees he should think fit; and the Clergy have full power to meet, and confirm and obey such decrees, without any danger from any Statute whatsoever *.—There, is, likewise, mention of a similiar licence granted to the LEGATE, on his arrival in *England*, of which notice has been taken in its proper place.---The inconveniencies into which the Clergy had been betrayed by acknowledging *Wolsey*'s legatine power, made these precautions adviseable; which, as they guarded the Rights of the Crown inviolate, so they secured the Subject from the capriciousness or sinister views of the Sovereign.

From *Nov.* 1554, to *Nov.* 1555.

THE LEGATE had now been about a twelvemonth in *England*, and had considered the prevailing disorders which chiefly called for redress, and the remedies which were most likely to effect it; and recal, as far as human foresight could provide, and the temper of the times permit, the Discipline of the Church of *England* to the Canons and Rule of the Primitive Fathers. This is the Plan which is set forth in the Preface to the Acts of the Synod; and the Writers of our Country, and Foreigners have spoken of it in this light. The General Council of *Trent*, at the first Sessions of which he presided, contributed greatly to qualify him for all such concerns; and the love he bore his Country, whose present situation was, in great measure, his own work, engaged him to exert all his talents towards perfecting those

* *Reginaldi Poli*, fol. 6, a. Conc. *Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, p. 130.

thoſe beginnings, which, however promiſing, ſtood in need of every aſſiſtance to bring them to their due ſtate.

The Convocation was yet ſitting, and had been prorogued, when the Legate called the Synod I am about to ſpeak of. The orders for calling it are directed to the Biſhop of *London*, as Dean of the Metropolitan, who was to communicate them to the Biſhops of the Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, and to others of the Clergy, who were accuſtomed to aſſiſt at ſuch meetings, and were required to be preſent at this, which was to be held in the King's Chapel, *Weſtminſter* *.

The Biſhops aſſembled premiſe, that the Evils with which the nation had been lately afflicted, were owing to their defection from the Catholic Church; and therefore it was but fitting the Council ſhould begin by acknowledging the greatneſs of the divine mercy in recalling them to the ancient faith and worſhip; and that a gateful remembrance of this benefit may be perpetuated to the lateſt poſterity, they appointed a collect of thankſgiving to be ſaid, every day, in the public ſervice of the Church; and the day, on which the Nation was reunited to the Catholic communion, which was the feſtival of St. *Andrew*, to be kept yearly with particular ſolemnity.

The ſecond Decree obſerves, that the obedience due to the Roman Pontiff was no ſooner laid aſide, but the authority of Eccleſiaſtical Laws was aboliſhed; falſe Teachers began to be countenanced, and books containing erroneous doctrine to be every where read: that, by theſe means the

* Ex Reg. *Bonner*, fol. 394. Conc. *Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, pag. 131.

the people were corrupted in their faith, particularly as to what regarded the Sacraments; the regularity which became the Clergy, and whatever concerned Church discipline was neglected. It was, therefore, the intention of the present Assembly to recall into use the former decrees of general and provincial Councils, and other Constitutions which have been canonically published in the Kingdom on these heads, and they were to have the same weight as before the Schism. And whereas *Otho* and *Ottobonus*, formerly Legates and Archbishops of *Canterbury*, had drawn up what seemed chiefly necessary to preserve the faith and morals of the English Clergy and Laity; all who have care of souls, besides the holy Scripture, and other books belonging to their charge, are commanded to have these Constitutions, to be conversant in them, and see that those committed to their care be taught what they ought to know of them.

THE reading, or importing heretical Books is condemned; and those who do either, or print, or retain such writings, are declared liable to the censures provided in such cases.—But, as these Regulations were in such negative or general terms as not to descend to any detail of what doctrines the People were to receive, what to shun; and as the late errors chiefly regarded the Supreme Pastor of the Church, and the Sacraments, the LEGATE proposes as a complete rule of belief on these Articles, what had been defined in the Council of *Florence*, under *Innocent* IV.—The Decrees of this Council are here set down, with the moral inferences which Christians should draw from the doctrinal parts; the dispositions, with which the Sacraments are to be received, and the proper and peculiar effects of each of them; in what manner they are to be administered; and who is the Minister.—To which the LEGATE adds

adds ſome regulations concerning the decent keeping of the holy Euchariſt in Churches, which cuſtom, he ſays, had been totally baniſhed through the injury of the late times; and alſo of celebrating the feaſt of the Dedication of Churches, which was obſerved throughout *England*, on the firſt *Sunday* of *October*.

THE LEGATE then remarks, that the intended Reformation ought to take its beginning from thoſe who have the care of others; amongſt whom this great abuſe too generally prevailed, that inſtead of reſiding in the Churches, whoſe care they had undertaken, they delivered them over to Hirelings. That this diſorder may no longer take place, he exhorts all ſuch perſons, that "attending to themſelves, and to all the Flock, over which the Holy Ghoſt had placed them, to feed the Church of God, which he has purcha- *Acts*, ch. xx. v. 28.
ſed with his own blood, and for which they were to be accountable, they would diſengage themſelves from worldly concerns; and, as the ſame Apoſtle admoniſhes, extend their watchfulneſs to every branch of their duty ſo as to fill up the meaſure of the whole. He then goes on to repreſent the almoſt univerſal diſorder of dignified Clergymen, who ſeemed only to regard the temporal emoluments of their benefices, without anſwering any of the purpoſes for which they were inſtituted; and the abuſe of Pluralities, which make perſonal Reſidence impracticable; and having mentioned the duty of Reſidence, he appoints the penalties to which thoſe who do not comply with it, are to be ſubject.

BUT as a mere bodily reſidence either of Biſhops, or of the inferior Clergy who had care of ſouls, unleſs they complied with the Paſtoral functions, the chief of which conſiſted in preaching the word of God, was of little effect; the LEGATE obſerves how much this duty was neglected,

glected, whilst those who were charged with it gave themselves up to other concerns. He reminds them of the maxim and example of the Apostles, who said, " it was not fitting, they should leave the preaching of the Gospel, and serve Tables," although that office, as it was in the relief of the Poor, was highly agreeable to piety.—All Prelates, therefore, are enjoined to perform this duty; and, when they are lawfully hindered, to appoint proper persons to do it in their stead. — The same conduct is required of Rectors, Vicars, and whoever has the care of Souls; and the duty was to be performed at least on *Sundays* and other Festivals.

Acts, ch. vi. v. 2.

He admonishes them, that in order to acquit themselves of this obligation, it was not enough to preach in public, unless the Pastor exhort and instruct in private those who err in faith, or transgress against morality, and encourage such as are faultless in both.—He forbids all persons to preach, but such as are duly qualified and approved of by the Bishop: and as the undue exercise of this function had given occasion to many disorders, the Bishops are commanded to instruct carefully those whom they entrust with this weighty ministry, both as to the subjects they are to treat, and the method of treating them.—That the People were, in the first place, to be exhorted to repentance, which was so much more necessary as we have more grievously offended, and received, in our late deliverance from a pernicious schism, so signal an instance of divine mercy. In the next place, they are to warn their Audience against those errors and disorders which chiefly prevailed in the doctrine and manners of the People during this time of calamity, and with which the greater part of the Nation was still infected.—There being a great scarcity of Preachers, lest the People should be totally deprived of so needful

ful a ſupport as the word of God, Homilies were to be ſet forth, which thoſe, who were not otherwiſe qualified, were to read in a clear and audible manner to their ſeveral Congregations.

THESE Homilies, as we learn from a Scheme of them found among Archbiſhop *Parker*'s papers, were to have been divided into four Books: the firſt was to treat of the controverted points in Religion, and whatever could preſerve the People from error; the ſecond to contain the expoſition of the Creed and Commandments, the Lord's prayer, the Salutation of the Bleſſed Virgin and the Sacraments; the third was adapted to the Sundays, the Feſtival, and Saints days throughout the year, and was to explain the Epiſtles and Goſpels read on thoſe occaſions; the fourth treated of Virtues and Vices, and of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church *. A little reflection is ſufficient to ſhew the fulneſs of this plan, and the propriety of its diſtribution.

THE LEGATE here applies to the preſent ſtate of his Country, what our redeemer ſaid of *Judea* and the whole World, "that the Harveſt was great, but the Workmen few, and therefore, the Lord of the Harveſt was to be entreated to ſend Workmen into his Harveſt:" and, in the mean time, the Biſhops were to appoint perſons to viſit all parts of their Dioceſes that none might be deprived of the aſſiſtance they ſtood in need of.— All Pariſh Prieſts are likewiſe required on Sundays, at leaſt, and Feſtivals, and at a time, when they are not taken up with the divine ſervice, to cauſe the Children of their reſpective Pariſhes to meet in the Church and to inſtruct them in the firſt rudiments of the Chriſtian Religion, in piety and obedience to the laws of God, and to their Parents.

EXAMPLE,

* Ex. M. S. Col. C. C. *Cant.*

Example, continues the Legate, adds great weight to what we ſay, and is in itſelf the moſt perſuaſive of all ſermons: thoſe, therefore, who are placed over others, are to be careful to excel them in every laudable commendation, particularly in that which St. *Paul* requires in Biſhops, the regularity of their own Houſehold: Wherefore, thoſe who are placed in this ſacred ſtation are moſt earneſtly requeſted to live, as the ſame Apoſtle expreſſes himſelf, ſoberly, chaſtly, and piouſly, that their example may be to others a leſſon of Religion and good Diſcipline.— They are to avoid all pomp and ſuperfluity in their dreſs, equipage and furniture; their table is to be frugal, and recommended by hoſpitality, charity, and Chriſtian diſcourſe: and the mean to be obſerved in each of theſe Articles is preſcribed.—That this frugality may have no appearance of Avarice, whatever is ſpared by it, as St. *Gregory*, Pope, wrote, to our Apoſtle, St. *Auſtin*, is to be laid out in the relief of the neceſſitous, the education of youth, and other works of piety, to the glory of God, the advantage of our Neighbour, and the edification of All.—They were to be Fathers of the indigent, of Orphans and Widows, and the Protectors of the oppreſſed; to be aſſiduous in the ſtudy of the holy Scriptures, and the diſcharge of all Epiſcopal duties; to refrain from worldly concerns, and whatever the wiſdom of the Canons has interdicted the Clergy, and in every thing become blameleſs Patterns to their Flock.—The ſame, in proportion is required of the inferior Clergy, it being but reaſonable that the members ſhould conform to their head; and that none might be ignorant of what it ſo much imported every one to know, theſe injunctions were to be abridged, and publiſhed ſo as to come to every one's knowledge.

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The Synod then deſcends to a diſorder, which they repreſent as almoſt univerſal; the marriage of Religious Perſons, of Prieſts, and of the other orders of the Clergy, and they condemn ſuch contracts as unlawful and ſacrilegious, and command a ſeparation to perſons thus engaged.—Great numbers likewiſe of the Clergy, were ſo forgetful of decency, no leſs than of the other obligations of their profeſſion, as not to wear the Clerical tonſure and habit, nor to perform the Divine Office, or apply themſelves to learning, or to any thing elſe that became them; but were taken up in worldly buſineſs, and in vile and diſreputable employments.—Theſe, therefore, were to be reduced to order, as to the abovementioned Articles; and the Refractory were to be compelled to amendment by any remedy which the Law admits; as far as to deprive them of their benefices.

Next to preaching the divine Word, no duty was more important than a careful and accurate attention in conferring Holy Orders; the Apoſtle having given Biſhops this charge, *lay thy Hands haſtily on nobody:* and the Legate obſerves, that from want of due regard to a concern of ſuch moment, the Clergy lay under great contempt, and the divine Worſhip was much diſregarded.—He enjoins Biſhops, therefore, with the approbation of the Synod, to take all proper pains in acquitting themſelves of ſo eſſential a part of their charge; that they ordain thoſe of their own Dioceſe; but if it were neceſſary to ſend them to be ordained elſewhere, they were to examine the Perſons, and be aſſured of their fitneſs for the ſacred Miniſtry: that they were not to imagine they had ſatisfied their obligation, if they committed this examination to others, who would perform the taſk in a careleſs manner, and be little ſollicitous concerning the character of

of the Candidate.—If the number of thoſe who are to receive Holy Orders be ſo great as to make the aſſiſtance of others neceſſary; they are to call in pious and learned Perſonages, on whoſe diligence they can rely.

In theſe Examens, the following Articles were particularly to be attended to: that thoſe, who preſented themſelves, were clear of all errors in Faith; that they were born in lawful wedlock, and had attained the age required by the Canons; that they were free from any of thoſe blemiſhes, which gave an excluſion from the Miniſtry: that their life and converſation was laudable, and their learning ſuited to the Degree into which they were to be initiated.—Great notice was to be taken, if they were provided of a maintenance ſufficient to exempt them from want, which brought a diſgrace on the Prieſthood; and expoſed them to the impious and deteſtable practice of making the holy Sacrifice of the Maſs, venal: and All were to be exhorted not to enter into holy Orders on ſelfiſh and mercenary views, but from a deſire of honouring Jesus Christ.—The Legate here enumerates ſeveral cautions which would greatly contribute to the obſervance of what he had enjoined in the foregoing Article; and concludes, that although the ſame ſcrutiny was not required in the collation of the inferior Orders, yet a proportionable regard was to be had to every caution already mentioned.

The Legate having regulated, in this manner, what concerns the manners of the Clergy, comes to the collation of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, which he reſtrains to ſuch Perſons as are both willing and able to perform the Office on account of which the Benefice is conferred. He cites the example of the Apoſtles, who being to chooſe ſeven Deacons, and having aſſembled the Diſciples, ſpake to them in the following manner;

"Brethren, look ye out among you ſeven men of honeſt report, full of the Holy Ghoſt and wiſdom, whom we may appoint over this buſineſs;" and he entreats all Biſhops, whoſe peculiar department this was, to lay aſide human reſpects and affection, and confer the Benefices of the Church, thoſe eſpecially to which the Paſtoral care was annexed, to the beſt qualified and moſt deſerving, and have before their eyes His ſervice only whoſe Delegates they were.

Acts, ch. vi.

I MUST here aſk the Reader's leave to interrupt the account of the Council, by an inſtance which the LEGATE gave of the exactneſs with which he practiſed what he preſcribed to others: for having a natural Brother, who during *Henry*'s reign, had been Archdeacon of *Derby*, He conferred no higher dignity on him, till two years after hs return to *England*, and then only procured for him the See of *Peterborough*, which was one of the leaſt provided for of the Biſhopricks; and looked on as a very inconſiderable Preferment, in compariſon of what the public voice had called him to, on whom it was collated.

THE ſixth Decree of the Council is very particular as to the qualifications which had only been mentioned in general terms in the foregoing Article; and obſerves, that the Apoſtle's precept to Biſhops of *not laying on their hands raſhly*, regarded no leſs the inſtitution of Miniſters, than their ordination; and, therefore, that Benefices, particularly thoſe which have the care of others annexed to them, are not to be conferred but after a very exact ſcrutiny.—That the ſame conditions as to ſound doctrine, full age, gravity of manners, and learning, were to take place here, as in the other caſe. It was likewiſe to be ſeen, if the Candidate had received the Order neceſſary for the diſcharge of the duties of the Benefice; if he ſeemed to be led by avarice, ambiti-

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on, or other carnal views: he was likewiſe to have the teſtimony of a good life from creditable witneſſes; and to be admoniſhed by the Collator of the office and burden he had taken on himſelf.

The Legate then proceeds to Benefices, which require perſonal reſidence; and, at length, concludes, that Biſhops were to receive from the Heads of Colleges and Univerſities, the names of ſuch, as on account of their learning and manners, were qualified for Benefices; that, on the firſt vacancy, they might not be at a loſs on whom to confer them; and to inquire after ſuch learned and pious perſonages, as might be aſſiſtant to themſelves in the government of their Dioceſes.—As it was very prejudicial to Churches to be long without a Paſtor, the Synod exhorts all Biſhops to ſupply immediately ſuch Benefices as belong to their collation without waiting the term, within which it is fixed by the Canons; and, in the mean time, to provide for the exigencies of the People: and the orders here made are addreſſed to all perſons who have a right of conferring Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, by what title ſoever this privilege is enjoyed.

The Legate then provides againſt the promiſe of Benefices before they are vacant; and the Council of the *Lateran* having taken all neceſſary caution to prevent this abuſe, which was very common in *England*, and the cauſe of much Evil, the Parties concerned are referred to the Canons there enacted for the extirpation of this diſorder. This decree is followed by another which relates to Simony, which the Legate obſerves to have taken deep root in the late Reigns. He ſets forth the heinouſneſs of this crime, in general; enters on a detail of the various ways by which it may be committed; appoints penalties for the ſeveral diviſions of it; and, laſtly, preſcribes the form of an Oath which every one,

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who was presented to a Benefice, was to take.

THE Churches throughout the Kingdom had suffered so much in the dilapidations of *Henry* and *Edward*, that it was but reasonable to consult the security of what had escaped such a general plunder; or had been restored by the Queen's piety and munificence. In order to effect this, the LEGATE renews the Constitution of *Paul* II. against alienating Church Lands, and whatever had been decreed on that head by general or particular Synods of this Realm; and, as a further means to obtain this end, all Governors or Administrators of Religious places, and Clergymen, by whatever title they possess Church Benefices, are commanded, within six months after the publication of these Constitutions, to make an Inventory of all the moveable and immoveable goods, rights, claims, actions, or debts appertaining to the Churches, or other places they hold; which inventory is to be attested by creditable Witnesses, and renewed every third year, and as often as they devolve to a new Possessor. One of the two copies, which were to be made of this; was to be deposited in the Church, or place, to which the benefice belonged; the other, if the Church was a Metropolitan, was to be deposited with the Chapter: if a Cathedral, with the Metropolitan; if a private Church, or pious Foundation, with the Bishop.—The Metropolitans and other Ordinaries are, moreover, in their visitations required to have these Inventories with them, and to see if any thing was wanting; in which case they were to endeavour to recover it, and punish those by whose neglect the damage had happened.—" But as to those Ecclesiastical possessions, which were formerly taken from the Church, and confirmed, by the holy See, to the present Owners, they are excepted from this Decree, and it is our will,

says

ſays the LEGATE, that they ſhould in no ways be affected by it."

As the good order and diſcipline of a National Church ſeems, in great meaſure, to depend on the obſervance of the following Conſtitution, I ſhall give it the Reader in a greater detail than the former. The LEGATE begins it by obſerving, that the preſent ſcarcity of Clergymen, ſuch eſpecially to whom the care of Churches could be committed, or who were qualified to perform the ſacred functions, made it neceſſary to provide againſt ſo great an inconvenience: and no means ſeemed more ſuited to this end, than that there ſhould be, in each Cathedral, a Nurſery for the raiſing future Miniſters. The Synod, therefore, orders, that each of theſe Churches ſhould, in proportion to its income and extent of juriſdiction, maintain a certain number of Youth; on which head they make the following regulations: That thoſe who are admitted into theſe Seminaries, ſhould be eleven or twelve years old; have learnt to read and write, and given ſome indication of a diſpoſition to betake themſelves to the Church, and of an aptitude to the ſacred miniſtry.—The LEGATE would have this choice made chiefly out of the Poor, though not ſo as to have others excluded, provided they give hopes of anſwering the end of the inſtitution. — They were, firſt, to be inſtructed in the Grammar; and, then, being adopted into the Metropolitan or Cathedral, were to be under the care of the Chancellor of the Church, or ſome grave and learned Perſon, and be brought up in that learning and diſcipline which became the ſtate they were deſigned for.—Of theſe there were to be two Claſſes; one of the more advanced in age and literature, who were to be *Acolyths* *, and beſides their table and a gown, were to have

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* One of the loweſt Orders in the Church.

a certain yearly ſtipend; the other claſs of the leſs advanced, who were only to have their table and a gown. Each Claſs was to wear the Clerical tonſure and dreſs, and, at ſeaſonable times, aſſiſt at the Church Office.—The *Acolyths*, when they were of a proper age, and had made a ſufficient progreſs in virtue and learning, were to receive holy orders, and ſerve the Church in whatever capacity the Biſhop and Chapter ſhould think fit; who were, likewiſe, to take care that each one was provided for according to his merit: And thoſe of the ſecond Claſs, who in age, learning, and virtue, followed the *Acolyths* thus promoted, were to ſucceed to their place.—Beſides the Youth of the Seminary, other Children of the City and Dioceſe were to be admitted to the Grammar School, and the other opportunities of improvement, provided they had been liberally educated and behaved becomingly; and as to dreſs, and their manner of living, they were to be on the ſame footing as thoſe who were ſupported by the Church; and the ſame method of ſupplying the Clergy out of them to be obſerved as with the others.

It was neceſſary that a certain temporary proviſion ſhould be made for the aintenance of the Youth, and the ſalary of the Maſters, till ſuch time as a fixed allowance could be appropriated from benefices aſſigned for theſe purpoſes: wherefore the Synod orders all Biſhops, and others who have a Benefice amounting to the yearly value of twenty pounds, to ſet aſide a fortieth part of the clear profit of the produce to this uſe; and, though, as the Synod remarks, they were already very heavily taxed, yet there could be no doubt but their zeal for Religion, and the regard they had for the Church, which was much deformed through want of proper Miniſters, would cauſe them chearfully to ſubmit to this additional burden.

The Biſhop, the Dean and Chapter were to ſuperintend this School, and to take care that the appointments for its ſubſiſtence were duly paid; and as many other regulations were neceſſary, they would be made in the next convocation.---But as nothing could contribute more to the ſound doctrine and good manners of the youth, than that their Inſtructors ſhould be no leſs recommendable for theſe qualifications than for learning, the Legate wills that no Schoolmaſter be appointed, or any one allowed to teach, any where, or on any pretence, unleſs he be firſt examined and approved of by the Ordinary, and by him informed of thoſe books he is to read in the School, to train up the Youth both in learning and virtue; and whoever had accepted the charge, and did not comply with this Statute, was liable to excommunication, and be excluded, three years, from teaching.---The doctrine, manners, and learning of thoſe who were already put over Schools, was carefully to be looked into, and if they were ſuch as are here required, they were to be continued, and to be informed of the preſent Regulations: if not, to be removed, and proper perſons ſubſtituted in their place.

The Viſitation of Churches being of great uſe to correct vice and abuſes, to eſtabliſh good manners, and enforce the practice of Eccleſiaſtical Laws; Biſhops and other Ordinaries are commanded to viſit their Dioceſes, and places committed to their charge, every three years, according to the ancient cuſtom of this Kingdom; and, if they are lawfully hindered, to appoint proper perſons to do it. This Viſitation is to be performed with all the zeal that goodneſs and charity can inſpire.---The viſitors are admoniſhed, in the firſt place, to take only thoſe perſons with them, of whoſe aſſiſtance they ſtand in abſolute need, and whoſe example may be profita-

ble to others. They are to be ſatisfied with frugal entertainment, and to make no longer ſtay than was neceſſary, not to waſte their time to no purpoſe, and be a charge to thoſe with whom they were.—The Viſitation was to be made in the following manner: the City was, firſt, to be viſited, then the Dioceſe, unleſs ſome peculiar caſe required the order to be changed. In the City, the Viſitation was to begin from the Cathedral, and be continued through all the Collegiate and Pariſh Churches; at which not only the Pariſh Prieſts, but whatever Clergymen inhabit the Pariſh, were to be preſent.—The Schools, likewiſe, and Bookſellers Shops, and, laſtly, the Hoſpitals were to be carefully inſpected.

In the Viſitation, the Biſhops were to preach and confirm: if any of the Dioceſe had incurred criminal caſes, which are reſerved to their cognizance, they were to abſolve them on ſufficient ſigns of repentance, and to invite All, who were thus unhappily engaged, with a paternal affection.---Some perſons of known integrity, and who were well informed of the manners both of the Eccleſiaſticks and Laity, were required to make their depoſition on this article.

With reſpect to Pariſh Churches, the following particulars were to be obſerved: Whether the Baptiſmal Water, the holy Oils, and the Euchariſt were kept in a decent and ſafe place, and renewed at proper times, and rightly adminiſtered: if the bleſſed Sacrament of our Lord's body was carried to the Sick with the cuſtomary marks of reſpect: if marriages were contracted lawfully in the Church, and after the banns had been publiſhed, and at permitted ſeaſons; if the Pariſh Prieſt had a regiſter with the names of thoſe who were baptiſed, of the Sponſors, of the married, and the dead.---The unconſecrated Altars were to receive that holy rite; and if any

had

had been profaned, they were to be purified: every thing in the Church was to be clean, decent and ſafe: the Church-yard was to be ſo encloſed that Cattle could not enter it, nor be expoſed to any other filth: if the Church, the Quire, the Belfry, the Sacriſty or Parſonage houſe ſtood in need of repair, thoſe to whom it belonged were to do it, according to the income of the Church or Pariſh: inquiry was to be made if nothing was wanting for the miniſtry of the Altar and the Church ſervice, as Chalices, Patens, Corporal linens, Veſtments, Books, and the like: if Maſs, and other divine Offices were celebrated, not only at proper times, and according to the approved rites of the church, but alſo with reverence and devotion; if there was one Clerk, at leaſt, to aſſiſt at the holy Sacrifice, in a decent ſurplice: if the Books, the Records, and other Writings belonging to the Church were carefully kept.

The above-mentioned Articles having been looked into; the next inquiry was to be made concerning the Miniſters of the Church, and the reſt of the Clergy; whether they had been duly ordained, and were appointed for ſuch functions as ſuited their degree: on what title they held their livings or benefices; if they had intruded themſelves, or held ſuch as were incompatible; if they reſided, and ſatisfied their duty in the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and each part of the divine ſervice; if they left their own, to ſerve other Churches, particularly on holidays; if they were diligent in inſtructing the People, and teaching the Children the firſt rudiments of the Chriſtian Doctrine; and had ſuch books as were proper for theſe and the other obligations of a Pariſh Prieſt.---The Examination was to extend to their life, manners, dreſs, converſation, and family: if they frequented houſes of public entertainment, or evil fame, or followed any unbecoming employment: if they took care of the goods,

goods and rights of the Church, and ſuccoured the Neceſſitous: whether they were peaceable, and careful to reconcile ſuch as were at variance.

THE Viſitation was, at length, to come down to the People, and information to be taken, whether there were any who held erroneous opinions, who did not confeſs themſelves, who were Uſurers, Concubinarians, or who lived in enmity, or any notorious and habitual diſorder: if Lent, with the other faſts and feſtivals, and the like laudable inſtitutions of the Church, were obſerved; and in caſe of licence obtained to uſe fleſh meat, and other diſpenſations, if a true and ſufficient cauſe had been alleged; and whether pious Legacies had been complied with.---Cognizance was to be taken of the behaviour of the People at divine ſervice, particularly in time of Maſs, at which they were to aſſiſt reverently from the beginning to the end; and nothing diſreſpectful, or that could diſturb the attention of the Congregation, was to be allowed during that ſacred action. A like information was to be had of the inſtruction which Maſters of families gave their Children, and the care they took of their Houſhold.

THE government of Hoſpitals was to be inſpected; and care taken that good order was obſerved in ſuch places, and the revenues belonging to them employed to the relief of the Poor. The ſame care was to be taken of Schools, as to the behaviour of the Maſters, and the books they explained: and no one, as the Synod had decreed by a Statute already mentioned, was to be admitted to teach, unleſs he was approved of by the Biſhop. If any Maſter was found to be unfit, he was to be removed. It was, likewiſe, to be obſerved, if Bookſellers kept by them, or ſold heretical, or other forbidden books.

WHERE there were Collegiate Churches and Chapters,

Chapters, information was to be taken if the Prebendaries, and thoſe in dignity ſatisfied their obligation, as well in a due and devout performance of the divine ſervice, as in every other branch of duty.

When theſe things are done, the Viſitor is to commend or reprove, as he ſees occaſion; and to employ for correction, if it be neceſſary, the cenſures of the Church, and other means of redreſs which the Law furniſhes; and to conclude the whole with a general exhortation to every one to comply with what their reſpective ſtations require of them.

There are ſome Directions in the Synod, which regard the Viſitation made by the Metropolitans of the Provinces under their juriſdiction; and the Legate refers them, in general, to the conſtitution of *Innocent* IV. on that head; but, amongſt other Articles, he ſpecifies the following: to take information whether the Biſhops reſide in their Dioceſes, and preach and live as becomes them: how they behave in conferring holy Orders, and Benefices; in appointing Ghoſtly Fathers, and correcting diſorders; in the Viſitation of their Dioceſe, and whatever regards the Epiſcopal charge and juriſdiction, and the adminiſtration both of ſpiritual and temporal concerns: whether they obſerve the Canons of the Univerſal Church, and the Eccleſiaſtical Inſtitutions of this Realm: and if any thing be ſo remarkably faulty in any of theſe particulars, as to require a reformation, they are to effect it; if that cannot be done, they are to refer the caſe to a Provincial Synod; but if a ſtill higher authority be neceſſary, they are to have recourſe to the Holy See.

Archdeacons are, in like manner, to viſit the diſtricts committed to their care, according to them for preſcribed above; and to refer to the Biſhops

Biſhops matters of greater moment, to which they find their own authority unequal; they were to bring into practice what had been enacted in the Epiſcopal Viſitation, and take information of the cauſes which were a hindrance to it; and becauſe much depended on them, as they were the Biſhop's repreſentatives, they are referred to what two former Legates and Primates of *England*, *Otho* and *Othobonus*, had preſcribed on this matter.

LASTLY, in order that Prelates may be at liberty to execute, notwithſtanding any appeal or contrary cuſtom, whatever was needful for the reformation of the People, the LEGATE renews what *Innocent* III. had ordered, in a general Council, on this head, and commands it to be obſerved by All *.

I HAVE only given the heads of the Decrees of this Synod, as the Reader, who deſires a greater detail than the Plan of this Work would admit, may have recourſe to the Original.—A ſlender acquaintance with the ſpirit and diſcipline of Chriſtianity, in thoſe times when it moſt flouriſhed, will ſhew the juſtneſs of the obſervation, which I have quoted at the beginning of this Article, that the LEGATE's deſign was to bring the frame of the Engliſh Church as near, as the times could bear, to primitive practice.—The reſemblance,

* There are two different Editions of the Statutes of this National Synod: one of which is preſerved in the *Cotton* and *Cambridge* Libraries, and contains them as they were originally propoſed to the Engliſh Clergy, under the title of *Legatine conſtitutions of* CARDINAL POLE. Ex M.S. *Clott. Cleop.* F. 2, fol. 72, collat. cum M. S. Synodal. in Coll. *Corp. Chriſti. Cantab.*

The other Edition, which is fuller and more accurate, was publiſhed at *Rome*, four years after the CARDINAL's death, under the title of *The Reformation of England.* The edition which the Author made uſe of, was printed from the Roman Copy, and publiſhed at *Venice*, by *Zileti*, in 1564. The acts of this Synod have ſince, been inſerted into the Collection of the Councils.

resemblance, likewise, of the Decres here made, to those which the General Council of *Trent* made on the same matters, is very remarkable. Nor can it be replied, That the LEGATE adopted what had been already ordained in that celebrated Assembly; because whatever has any affinity to the statutes of the Synod, was not regulated till the last Sessions of the Council, which were held some years after the CARDINAL's death.---But, it is not improbable that several of the Fathers, who assisted at them, were acquainted with what he had ordered on matters which they were to regulate; and that they prescribed to the whole Christian world, what he had approved of for one national Church.---This observation has no where greater force than in what regards the establishment of Seminaries for the education of the Clergy: an Institution which the Fathers judged of such importance, that several of them, as has been related, at the close of the Council, said, that all their pains would have been well employed, had this purpose alone been gained.

THE small number of Articles, to which the LEGATE reduced a national Reformation, and the plainness and simplicity with which they are laid down, shew the skilfulness of the hand that planned the design, no less than the propriety with which the choice is made. The whole is comprized in twelve Decrees, which are addressed to the Clergy, and designed to form them to a regularity becoming the Ministry they were intrusted with. He very well knew, was this point carried, the Reformation of the whole Nation would soon be the fruit of it: for the generality of mankind having neither opportunity nor disposition to enter very far into the merits of the cause of Religion, take their impression, both as to belief and practice, from the character of those who are appointed to be their Guides.—

The

The Christian moderation which appears thro' these Statutes, is a further recommendation of him who penned them. There is no order nor the least intimation given to the Bishops or Parochial Clergy, to persecute others; but to amend themselves; and I should do Dr. *Burnet* an injury, not to acknowledge this remark to be his.

Hist. Ref. part 2. pag. 326.

SEVERAL other of the LEGATE's Synodical Decrees, and such like Regulations, are come down to us; but as they throw no further light on his character, or on the state of the Nation as it stood related to him, it would be foreign to this work to swell it with them *.

1555. The Synod was summoned on the 11th of *November*, and the matter having been thoroughly weighed

* Articles to be proposed to married Priests. *Anth. Harmer*, Specimen of Errors, pag. 178.

Acts of a Provincial Synod of *Canterbury*.

Commission and Instruction given to the Dean and Chapter of *Canterbury*, as to Dispensations, Absolutions, &c. *Ibid.* pag. 182. and *Stripe*'s life of *Cranmer*, App. pag. 187.

The like, granted to the Parochial Clergy and others. *Harmer*.

Injunctions sent in English to the Bishop of *Gloucester*, the LEGATE's Delegate in that Diocese: they contain seventeen Articles which regard the Clergy, and as many the Laity, and are penned with the same goodness and discernment as the Legatine Constitutions. Ex Append. Hist. *Rob. de Avesbury*, edit. *Tho. Hearne*, pag. 376.

A Regulation sent to all the Bishops, concerning the due use of Confession, choice of Ghostly Fathers, and other points of Discipline; and Regulations about money deposited with Bishops. Ex Reg. *Turverville*, *Exon.* fol. 18.

Concerning Processions. Ex *R. Poli*, fol. 27, a.

These Documents are collected in the 4th vol. Conc. *Mag. Brit.* by *Wilkens*, from pag. 109, to pag. 178.

General Notes that were written unto all Bishops, and from them to be certified to my Lord CARDINAL POLE's Grace: M. S. now in the possession of Mr. *Joseph Sanford*, of *Baliol* College.

weighed before the meeting, the Biſhops and Clergy, who were aſſembled, found little more to do, than to ſubſcribe to what had been regulated with ſo much wiſdom. But though the LEGATE's hand had directed the planning of the whole, reduced it to one character and colouring, and went over the ſeveral parts, and gave to each its finiſhing, yet he was deſirous the Public ſhould receive this pledge of his ſolicitude for their welfare, under the authority of a National Synod, no leſs than his own.

A FEW days after the Council ended, the LEGATE wrote to the King that the Queen was deſirous the People ſhould be immediately informed of the Decree made for an anniverſary thankſgiving for the Nation's late reconciliation. "I went, ſays he, on the firſt Sunday of Advent to St. *Peter*'s, accompanied by the Biſhops and the whole body of the nobility, who, on account of the Parliament, are now in Town; and was received, in quality of LEGATE, as the cuſtom is, by the Archbiſhop of *York*, and a great number of Eccleſiaſtics and of the People, with all the Clergy of that Church. One of the Queen's Chaplains, a man of learning and probity, ſet forth, in a very appoſite diſcourſe, the greatneſs of the benefit which a good God has been pleaſed, through your Majeſties means, to confer on this Kingdom: and ſeveral are of opinion, that the readineſs which the Nobility ſhewed to aſſiſt at the ſolemn Maſs and Proceſſion which were performed on this occaſion, has contributed as much towards confirming the minds of the People in the ancient doctrine, as all the Sermons of laſt year *" From this, and ſome other paſſages I have cited out of the Acts of the Synod, it appears, that though the Roman Catholic was the Religion eſtabliſhed by Law, and which the

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ª, pag. 55.

the Nation had received in the perſons of its Sovereign and Repreſentatives, it was far from being the perſuaſion of all the People, whoſe tenets, in general, are repreſented by the LEGATE, as erroneous as their manners were corrupt: And, when, in the Synodical Statutes, he ſpeaks of the Clergy, it is, every where, with ſuch diſparagement, as plainly indicates the little aſſiſtance which was to be expected either from the doctrine or example of ſuch Miniſters.—This, in ſome meaſure, accounts for the quick defection from what was now profeſſed, which happened, two years after, under Queen *Elizabeth*, when, though all the Biſhops, one excepted, choſe to be deprived of their Sees, rather than conform to the changes which then took place; and Lord Viſcount *Montacute*, in the upper Houſe, and Mr. *Atkins* in the lower, and a few others, behaved with the like conſtancy: yet both Lords and Commons came unanimouſly into the meaſures of that Princeſs, in the very firſt Parliament of her Reign.

Sir *Anth. Browne.*

SECT.

SECT. X.

The LEGATE *endeavours to reclaim* Cran mer *under ſentence of death, from his errors.*

His Lenity towards thoſe who had left the communion of the ſee of Rome.

He is conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury; *and choſen Chancellor of the Univerſities of* Oxford *and* Cambridge.

Anecdotes of his private life.

THE following year was ſignalized by a puniſhment, in the particulars of which, and, in the character of the Perſon, on whom it was inflicted, this Hiſtory, for reaſons which the narrative will bring me to, is ſufficiently intereſted to require I ſhould be circumſtantial on both theſe Heads.——*Thomas Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, had been one of the chief promoters of *Henry*'s ſeparation from *Catharine* of *Arragon*, Mother to the Queen; and had, moreover, pronounced the ſentence of the Divorce. He had ſubſcribed, in the latter part of *Edward*'s reign, to the change of the Settlement made by Parliament, and ſet aſide the Princeſſes *Mary* and *Elizabeth* in favour of the Houſe of *Suffolk*; and, on that young Prince's deceaſe, was one of thoſe who put up Lady *Jane*'s title, and his name was at the head of that treaſonable and reproachful declaration, in which the legitimacy of his Sovereign's birth was denied, and ſhe commanded to deſiſt from any pretenſions to the Crown and retire to a private life; and he had aggravated

theſe miſdemeanors by ſpreading ſeditious libels and raiſing tumults. "After a long and ſerious debate of the Privy Council, he was, committed, in the beginning of *September*, 1553, to the Tower, to remain there, or be referred to Juſtice, according to the Queen's pleaſure *." Being brought to his Trial on the third of *November* following, he pleaded guilty to the Indictment, and ſubmitted himſelf to the Queen's mercy; on which he was attainted of high Treaſon, and the ſentence confirmed by Act of Parliament †. Though the See of *Canterbury* by this Attainder was become void in Law, it was not yet declared vacated; and *Cranmer*, till he was degraded, was conſidered as Archbiſhop: the Revenues only were ſequeſtered, and the Criminal ſent back to the Tower

THE perſonal injury which each of theſe offences included was more than enough to ſtir up all the reſentment of a Woman and a Queen; and yet it is probable the execution of this ſentence would not have taken place, had not *Mary* been more diſpoſed to avenge the wrongs done to the Religion ſhe profeſſed, than the treaſon committed againſt herſelf: for of ſo many, who had oppoſed her title at the beginning of her Reign, we have already ſeen how few were put to death.

A PUBLIC diſputation between the Catholic
Apr. 1554. and Proteſtant Divines being held, ſoon after, at *Oxford*, *Cranmer*, by the Queen's Warrant, was removed from the Tower to that City, in order to be preſent at it. Here he denied the real and corporal preſence of CHRIST's body in the holy Euchariſt, and aſſerted ſeveral other tenets, which
20th *April.* he had before maintained, and were contrary to the Catholic doctrine. Two days after the Conferences

* *Collier's* Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. 2, b. 5, p. 347.
† Anno. 1a *Mar.* ch. 16.

rences were ended, he was required by Dr. *Weſton* and the other Deputies of the Convocation, who preſided at them, to abjure his errors, and ſubſcribe to the Catholic Faith; and, on refuſal, was unanimouſly declared to be a Heretic, and ſent back to priſon, where he remained till his Execution, which was put off for two years.

DURING his confinement the LEGATE made repeated eſſays to recall him to the paths of truth; and, on the promiſes and hopes he gave, had obtained frequent reſpites of his execution, which was reſolved, it ſeems, though the time not determined *. Among other inſtances of his ſolicitude to reclaim him from his errors, particularly as to what regarded the Euchariſt, is a long and excellent letter, which is one of the moſt compleat pieces of Controverſy that ever was penned on this Characteriſtic Article of the Catholic Religion, and being dictated from the heart no leſs than the head, is equally addreſſed to both. At the ſame time, he tells *Cranmer*, he entertained but ſlender hopes that what he alleged would have its due weight with him, ſince what the learned Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Fiſher*, had wrote on that ſubject, and the late conferences at *Oxford*, had only contributed to harden and make him more obſtinate; and that this had happened, not through any want of ability on the part of thoſe who would have withdrawn him from darkneſs, but becauſe his weak and ſickly optics could not ſupport the lively ray of Truth, whoſe light only blinded him more. He proves to him, that his mind, in its preſent ſituation, was incapable of underſtanding theſe doctrines; ſince he was neither enlightened as a Teacher, nor endowed with the teachableneſs of a Scholar. That the

 errors

* Vita *Poli*, p. 34. à tergo.

errors he was fallen into, were the effect and punishment of the disorders of his past life; having been raised to prelacy, in order to gratify the passions of his Prince, and having, on all occasions, answered this shameful purpose. He takes notice of the endless evils he had brought on the Nation, of his prevarications in Religion, his perjuries and sensuality: by all which crimes he had drawn on himself the severest chastisement of an angry Deity, and been delivered up to a reprobate sense *.

THOUGH the LEGATE takes frequent opportunities in the letter I have cited, to give *Cranmer* every signification of good will, and the sense he had of his misfortunes, he resumes the subject in a second letter, in which he expresses himself in this remarkable manner: "that his concern for him, and the desire of his welfare was such (he called God to witness) that was there any means of rescuing him from that terrible sentence of death, which, unless he returned to his duty and a right mind, hung over both body and soul, he would most willingly prefer it to all the honours and emoluments which can befall any one in this life †.

THE

* The Original of this Letter, which was wrote in Latin, is preserved in the French King's Library, M. S. v. 10213, pag. 43, and has been translated into French by Mons. *le Grand*, and added to the 1st tome of his History of the Divorce; from whence it was inserted into Cardinal *Quirini's* Collection of the Author's letters, part 5, pag. 238.

† Ea est mea salutis tuæ cura et studium, ut si te ab horribili illâ, quæ tibi, nisi resipiscas, impendet non solum corporis, sed etiam animæ mortis sententiâ, ullo modo liberare possem, id profectò omnibus divitiis atque honoribus, qui cuiquam in hâc vitâ obtingere possint (Deum testor) libentissimè anteponerem.

Notwithstanding this solemn declaration, and the LEGATE's precedent behaviour which was consonant to it, Doctor *Burnet*, without the least grounds, or even pretending to alledge any authority,

The time when the ſentence was to be executed was now at hand. He had been condemned, as has been ſaid, two years before, for treaſonable practices againſt his Sovereign's title and perſon, and had received ſentence of death, which was confirmed by the Legiſlature.—His miſdeeds in a caſe of a higher and more divine order had been lately examined at that Tribunal, to which, by way of excellence, ſuch Inqueſts belong, and to which all Ages have ever referred them. Here his offences had been found of ſuch a nature as to injure Religion in her vital part, and to draw on the Offender all the cenſures and puniſhments ſhe can inflict.

The Pope, at the King's and the Queen's requeſt, had appointed the Cardinal of St. *Simeon* to examine *Cranmer*'s cauſe; and He had nominated the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, and whomever he ſhould think fit to join in the commiſſion to try the Criminal. The Court of Delegates was opened in St. *Mary*'s Church, in *Oxford*; and the Biſhop ſet forth

Dr. *Brooks.*

12th *Sept.* 1555.

authority, is not aſhamed to advance (*Hiſt. Reform.* part 2, p. 327) that Cardinal Pole's impatience to get into the See of *Canterbury*, cauſed him to haſten *Cranmer*'s death; and that this, and his paſſive behaviour in the perſecution carried on againſt Hereticks, were the only ſtains in his life.

But, ſurely, the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* could not but imagine the reader would expect ſomething more than his bare aſſertion to give credit to ſo foul an aſperſion on ſuch a Character. And had this excellent Perſon been capable of the Act of Blood and Ambition he is here charged with, and to haſten the death of *Cranmer*, however guilty both in his public and private life, in order to make room for himſelf, far from being the Perſon the Biſhop every where elſe repreſents him, he would have been more exceptionable than the Criminal, whoſe puniſhment he procured.

Beſides, *Cranmer* was found guilty of treaſon long before the Cardinal came to *England*; and was, therefore, dead in Law, and incapable of holding the leaſt Church Benefice; and on the Cardinal's return to his Country, he had been put in poſſeſſion of the revenues of the Archbiſhoprick, which, on *Cranmer*'s condemnation, were ſequeſtered.

forth in a long diſcourſe, the crimes of which *Cranmer* was accuſed; and, namely, his apoſtacy, hereſy, and incontinence; he made mention, alſo of his treaſon. To which *Cranmer* replied, by diſowning any ſubmiſſion to the Pope, and charging the See of *Rome* with doctrines and practices contrary to the Goſpel. As the examination became more particular, the Criminal was accuſed of keeping a Wife ſecretly in *Henry*'s reign, and openly in *Edward*'s; of publiſhing heretical books, and conſtraining others to ſubſcribe to them; of forſaking the Catholic Church, and denying CHRIST's preſence in the Sacrament of the Altar; and, lately, of diſputing publickly againſt it, at *Oxford*. All theſe Articles he confeſſed, and excepted only againſt having forced others to ſubſcribe, which he ſaid he had never done *. This information being taken, he was ſent back to priſon.

THE Report was made to *Rome*, and having been reviſed by a Committee of the ſacred College, the Pope pronounced the following ſentence: "That he had found *Thomas Cranmer*, formerly Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, guilty of ſeveral offences againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Decrees and Rules of the holy Fathers; the traditions of the church of *Rome*, the Councils, and the Rites, which had hitherto been received by the Univerſal Church; and, particularly, that he had held and taught a Doctrine concerning the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of JESUS CHRIST, and holy Orders, contrary to what had been always taught and believed; and had diſowned the Primacy of the holy See, and the Papal authority: that he had aſſerted the proceedings of the Church of *Rome* in the ſolemn condemnation of Hereticks, and their reſpective errors, to be unlawful; and had

* *Burnet*, Hiſt. Reform. part 2, pag. 331.

had himſelf revived thoſe of *Berengarius* and *Wickliffe*, and abetted thoſe of *Luther.*—The Pope, in particular, declares he had maintained theſe doctrines in his anſwers to the Interrogatories made by his Holineſs's Sub-delegate, the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, and obſtinately perſiſted in them.—For theſe reaſons he excommunicates and anathematizes him; deprives him of the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, and all Eccleſiaſtical Privileges; commands his effects to be confiſcated, and himſelf to be degraded and delivered up to the Secular Power. When this is done, their Majeſties are required to proceed as the Law directs *.

THE Decree is directed to *Philip* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*, and to the Biſhops of *London*, and *Ely*, as to the perſons who were to execute it †. In conſequence of this ſentence, the Biſhops came down to *Oxford*, accompanied by the Doctors *Martin* and *Story*, as the King's and Queen's Proctors; and *Cranmer* being brought before them, their Commiſſion was read, which declared him guilty of the crimes he had been charged with, and, required them to degrade him.---During this awful Ceremony he perſiſted in denying the Papal Juriſdiction, and appealed to a future council. After the degradation and ſentence of death, he was removed to the Dean's lodgings at *Chriſt Church*, and no kind of exhortation omitted to prevail on him to ſecure his laſt ſtake by a ſincere repentance, and to retract his errors; which, perhaps, might alſo move their Majeſties to reverſe his doom, and pardon him. The proſpect of this grace, and the dread of

19th *Jan.* 1555-6. *Bonner*, and *Thirleby*.

14th *Feb.*

 death,

* Poſtquam Curiæ Seculari traditus fuerit, id, quod jus fecerit, fieri mandetis.

† The Decree, in which this ſentence is contained, may be ſeen, at full length, in *Wilkins*'s Conc. *Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, pag. 132 who tranſcribed it from *Fox*, vol. 3, pag. 997. edit. 1641.

death, againſt which, it ſeems, neither the conſciouſneſs of a well-ſpent life, nor the goodneſs of the cauſe, in which he was to die, had armed him, cauſed him to ſign a memorial, in which he abjured the errors of *Luther* and *Zuingle*, acknowledged the pope's ſupremacy, the ſeven Sacraments, CHRIST's corporal preſence in the Euchariſt, Purgatory and Prayer for departed Souls, and the invocation of Saints.—He, likewiſe, deſired thoſe who had been led aſtray by his doctrine and example, to return to the unity of the Catholic Church; and proteſted he did this of his own free motion, and for the diſcharge of his conſcience *.

24th *Feb.* SOON after, their Majeſties ordered the Lord High Chancellor to make out a Writ for his Execution, which is directed to the Mayor and Bailiffs of *Oxford*; and *Cranmer* had again renewed his ſubſcription, and tranſcribed a fair Copy of the whole: but having ſome miſgivings of his approaching puniſhment, he ſecretly wrote another declaration of what his real tenets were, which contradicted, in every point, the doctrine he had before ſigned, and carried it about with him. Being brought out to execution, Dr. *Cole*, Provoſt of *Eton*, was appointed to preach on this occaſion, and he ſummed up, in a very pathetic diſcourſe, " the chief diſorders of the unhappy Offender's life, and particularly inſiſted on the miſeries, in which his contrivance and perſuaſion had involved his Country. The divorce he had made between the King and *Catharine* of *Aragon*, and the blemiſh which he had caſt on the Iſſue of the latter. That he had not only ſigned away the Crown from her preſent Majeſty, but done it in very abuſive and inſulting terms. That he had enſlaved the Church and Sacerdotal dignity

* The Recantation is cited at full length, by *Collier*.

nity to the ſecular Power, and had frequently been guilty of the moſt flagitious hypocriſy in the great concern of Religion, and had never ceaſed to ſtir up Schiſmatics, Heretics, and Rebels, and had violated all Laws human and divine.—He concluded, by addreſſing his diſcourſe to *Cranmer*, and extolled that mercy which had lately brought him to a ſenſe and acknowledgment of his faults, and encouraged him to receive the puniſhment due to them with a Chriſtian reſignation, as the means to atone for them, and obtain a happy eternity *."

WHEN *Cranmer* ſaw there was no further hopes of pardon, he retracted whatever he had ſubſcribed to, declared it was contrary to truth, and that the fear of death, and deſire of living had prevailed on him to act in this manner. Being brought to the ſtake, he expreſſed great reſentment againſt his right hand, for having ſigned the Catholic doctrine, and thruſt it into the flames, in which his body was ſoon conſumed †.

HOWEVER rigorous this proceeding may appear, the Criminal, on whom the puniſhment was inflicted, would have objected to it with an ill grace. He had conſented to *Lambert*'s and *Anne Aſkew*'s death, who ſuffered, under *Henry*, for thoſe very opinions which himſelf held concerning the Euchariſt: and he had ſet the example, in *Edward*'s reign, of that very proceeding which was now retaliated upon himſelf: He ſate on *Joan Bocher*, condemned her as an obſtinate Heretic, and delivered her up to the ſecular Power, to be puniſhed *according to her deſerts.* He behaved in the ſame manner to *George van Par*,

* Sermon at the execution of *Cranmer*, *Hen. Cole*'s Works, 8vo.

† *Fox*, Acts and Mon. edit. 1583, p. 1816. *Strype*, Vita *Cranmeri*. *Burnet*, Hiſt. Ref. part 2, pag. 131. *Thuanus*, lib. 17, p. 511, F. edit. *Aurelianæ*, 1620.

2d *May*, 1550. *Par*, a German Surgeon; and they were both burnt at the ſtake in *Smithfield* *. The Archbiſhop's behaviour on this occaſion was attended with
24th *Apr.* 1551. an aggravation which creates horror: for, whereas the young King ſhewed a reluctance to ſign the warrant for the execution of theſe Wretches, one of whom was more a Bedlamite than a Heretic, he ſolved his Scruples, and prevailed on him to put his hand to it †. It is, alſo, to be obſerved that theſe proceedings were carried on three years after the Statutes againſt Hereticks were repealed; and the ſentence is pronounced with all the pomp in which ſeverity and oſtentation can dreſs it up.

I HAVE only given an account of the particulars of *Cranmer*'s puniſhment, and of the crimes which occaſioned it: but the Cauſe, which is termed the Reformation, of which he is conſidered as a principal author, may, perhaps, make a ſtill further account of him not unacceptable to the Reader's curioſity; and I could not interrupt the Narrative of the laſt Scene of his life, to exemplify in particular inſtances, what is related of him by Proteſtant Hiſtorians, and will greatly elucidate what has been already ſaid ‡.

HE was born of a reputable family in *Nottinghamſhire*; and being admitted into *Jeſus*' College, in *Cambridge*, was deprived of his Fellowſhip for marrying; but, on his Wife's death, he betook himſelf again to an Academical life, and entered into holy Orders, and was obſerved by Dr. *Fox* as a fit perſon to promote the divorce. He was,

* *Stow*'s Chron. pag. 604, 605. Reg. *Cran.* fol. 75, b. *Ibid.* fol. 78, a, and 79, a: Theſe proceedings may likewiſe be ſeen at full length. *Wilkins*'s Conc. *Mag Brit.* vol. 4, pag. 43, *et ſeq.*

† Dr. *Burnet*, excuſes theſe Actions in *Cranmer*, by ſaying, they did not proceed from cruelty of temper, *but were truly the effect of thoſe Principles by which he governed himſelf.* Hiſt. Ref. part 2, pag. 111, and 112.

‡ *Fox*, *Godwin*, de Præſ. Angl. *Strype*, Vita *Cran.* *Burnet*, Hiſt. Ref.

was, afterwards, Chaplain to the Earl of *Wiltshire*, Father to *Anne Bullen*; and being recommended to the King as one zealous for his service, was employed by him in foreign Courts and Universities. In *Germany*, he became acquainted with *Osiander*, one of the most profane and dissolute wretches of the age, as both *Calvin* and *Melancthon*, though engaged in the same party, represent him: and notwithstanding the most solemn engagements to celibacy, which he had taken at his Ordination, he married this Reformer's Niece. Here, likewise, he became acquainted with *Luther*'s tenets, "adopted his sentiments, and was the most esteemed of those who embraced them *." On Archbishop *Warham*'s death, which happened whilst *Cranmer* was abroad, the King named him to the See of *Canterbury*; and, on his return to *England*, whither his Wife, though in secret, accompanied him, he was consecrated according to the Roman Ritual.—The *March*, oath of obedience to the See of *Rome* is a rite ob- 1533. served on that occasion, and *Cranmer* retired into a private place, and entered a protest against the oath he was going to take, and, then, took it.— In whatever light common sense and common honesty must consider this behaviour, two Historians of note have represented it as an instance of fair dealing and sincerity; and a third, who gives up the merit of the management, can only discover in it *something of human infirmity* †." —There was no abject compliance, as shall be exemplified a little lower, to which he did not let himself down, to flatter the passions of *Henry* VIII. and secure his own credit.—After his return from *Germany*, he continued during the remaining part of that Prince's reign, which was thirteen years, in

* *Burnet*, Hist. Ref. part 1, p. 135.

† *Echard*, Hist. of *Eng.* vol. 2, pag. 281. *Burnet*, Hist. Ref. part 1, pag. 129. *Collier*, Church Hist. vol 2, b. 1. pag. 74.

in a conſtant diſſimulation of his Religion, and a daily profeſſion and practice of what he diſbelieved; as the denial of the Pope's ſupremacy was yet the only Article which divided *England* from the See of *Rome*: and *Henry* exacted a rigorous compliance with all the other terms of Communion, which *Cranmer*, though a Lutheran, obſerved. In conſequence of this abandoned turn of mind, he ſubſcribed to the ſix famous Articles, which contain ſo many points in which the Reformers diſagree with the ancient Doctrine, though he diſbelieved them all. But becauſe the celibacy of the Prieſthood is enforced by one of them, under the penalty of death by fire, he ſent his Wife back into *Germany*, where ſhe remained to the end of that reign.

At *Edward*'s acceſſion he threw off the Maſk, and declared in favour of the Zuinglian and Calviniſtical Principles, as they removed him at a ſtill greater diſtance from the Catholic Belief, and were countenanced by the Protector. This he did of his own authority, before the Parliament had aboliſhed the ancient worſhip, and an uninformed *Embryo* had been ſubſtituted in its ſtead. And here again he acted in direct oppoſition to the Lutheran tenets, which, before, he had imbibed and followed.---In a great number of writings he left behind him, there is ſcarce one Article of the Catholic Church which he does not oppugn: he was ſo bent on extirpating every thing which could give the People a veneration for her authority that he wrote a treatiſe againſt all traditions *: and, though *Edward*'s reign had gone the lengths we have ſeen, in what was called *Reformation*, he never ceaſed to urge that

* Againſt unwritten Verities.—An examination of moſt points of Religion.—Concerning a further Reformation.—Some Conſiderations offered to *Edward* VI. to induce him to proceed to a further Reformation.

that young Prince to further changes, and to weary the Public with Schemes on that ſubject.—In the ſame view he invited over foreign Sectaries, and, however Antichriſtian their tenets were, obtained for them Churches, and recommended them to the favour of the Crown, to Profeſſorſhips, and other emoluments; every path being right to him, which led the Nation, of which he was Primate, aſtray *.

Though Dr. *Burnet* grants theſe facts, and the others which follow, he accounts for *Cranmer*'s conduct, with ſaying "that in all this he did no more than his conſcience allowed him." I ſhall, therefore, aſk the Reader's leave to preſent him with the ſketch of a Conſcience, which in a very different ſenſe from that of the Apoſtle, *became all to all*, and accommodated itſelf, without diſtinction, to every thing.

This faculty, therefore, which was given to diſcern good from evil, and induce us to act by this eſtimate, was ſo ductile in *Cranmer*, as to allow him to enſlave the Church, of whoſe Rights his ſtation obliged him to be the Guardian, to the

* *Martin Bucer*, who was firſt a Lutheran, then a Zuinglian, was made Divinity Profeſſor at *Cambridge*.

Paul Fagius, Hebrew Profeſſor at the ſame Univerſity.

P. Virmili, or *Martyr*, who was a profeſſed Zuinglian, made Divinity Profeſſor at *Oxford*.

J. à Laſco, Miniſter of the firſt Dutch Church in *London*, beſides the errors of *Zuingle*, and other frenzies, found out twelve different meanings of the words of the Inſtitution of the Euchariſt, and rejected Baptiſm, which, he ſaid, was become an Idolatry.

P. Ochin, who was employed with *Martyr* to compile the liturgy, wrote a treatiſe in defence of Polygamy, became a Socinian, and died the Outcaſt of mankind and an Atheiſt.

Nigellinus, *Tremellius*, *Valerand*, *P. Alexander*, and ſeveral others, who were Zuinglians and Calviniſts, and came to *England* in *Edward*'s reign.

the ſecular power; and to ſubmit that authority which her Miniſters derive from JESUS CHRIST, to earthly Potentates.—He acknowledged *Henry* VIII. to be the ſole ſource of all ſpiritual juriſdiction, and that it was by his ſufferance, that he, the Primate, could judge and determine a mere ſpiritual cauſe; and, at his moſt humble requeſt, the King grants him this power in the Commiſſion to proceed on the Divorce *. On *Edward*'s acceſſion, he took out freſh Patents for his Archbiſhoprick, and acknowledged he held it revocable at the King's pleaſure; and a ſpecial licence was iſſued out from an Infant to empower him, and the other Biſhops, to confer Orders, and exerciſe the other Epiſcopal functions †. He ſuffered *Cromwel*, though a Layman, and utterly void of all Eccleſiaſtical knowledge, to preſide at all the Convocations of the Clergy. The ſame latitude of Principle permitted him to diſſolve two of the King's marriages, on pretexts notoriouſly falſe, and which had no other foundation than a change in *Henry*'s affections; and to ſign the death of the Admiral, Brother to the Duke of *Somerſet*, without bringing him to trial. It permitted him, though a Prieſt, and conſequently obliged to celibacy by the moſt ſolemn ties, to take a Wife; and, in that condition, to accept of one of the firſt Sees of the Chriſtian World; and though a Lutheran, to take at his conſecration the oath of obedience to the Pope: to ſubſcribe to the ſix Articles, which are ſo many condemnations of *Luther*'s tenets, and by which the Maſs, the

Catharine of *Aragon*, and *Anne* of *Cleves*.

* The Commiſſion is put down at length by *Collier*, Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. 2, among the Collections, p. 15; and is taken from the Original preſerved in the Library of *Robert Harley*, Earl of *Oxford*.

† *Sanders*, *Heylin*, p. 82.

the capital object of the Reformation's aversion, is approved.—To offer up, during *Henry*'s reign, this Sacrifice, even for the repose of the Dead; which, in his Principles, he must have looked on as an abomination before God; and to ordain Priests, on whom he conferred the same power.—To exact, even from Deacons, at their ordination, a solemn engagement to a single life, to which, though an Archbishop, he did not think himself obliged.—To pray to Saints, who are departed in God's favour, and reign with his blessed Son; and to pay a respect to their representations: though all these Practices were abjured by the late Doctrines, with which he had taken up.—As yet I have only pointed out a part of the character of that Conscience, which, Leopard like, was spotted all over.—To conclude, this ductile Conscience allowed him, in hopes of saving his life, to abjure all the tenets he had hitherto professed; and, when that prospect failed, and he was brought to execution, to revoke that very abjuration, and to declare it was all a lie.

THIS Person, who, *Proteus* like, put on all appearances, and was then only taken when he returned to his own form, " had, if we credit Bishop *Burnet*, as few faults, and as many eminent Virtues, as any Prelate for many ages *;" and was put on a level, by those who compared modern and ancient times, with the greatest of the primitive Fathers, not only a *Chrysostom*, an *Ambrose*, and an *Austin*, but with those of the first Class, who immediately followed the Apostles, an *Ignatius*, a *Polycarp*, and a *Cyprian* *.

—If

* Preface to the first part of Hist. Ref. last paragraph but one.
† Hist. Ref. part 2, pag. 336.
Our other Writers, who agree in the facts I have related, have

—If there really were any ſuch perſons, who made this compariſon, the Biſhop has ſpared their memory by ſuppreſſing their names: But it was the higheſt inſult on the ſenſe and morals of his Readers, to ſuppoſe them ſuſceptible of ſo groſs an impoſition; unleſs he imagined that what is called *Popery* has the ſame power over the minds of men, as *Circe*'s wand had on the Companions of *Ulyſſes*, to deprive them of their reaſon.—As for the Biſhop himſelf, he muſt have drank to the dregs of that intoxicating Cup, with which the lying Prophets are drenched, to give out ſuch abſurdities, and expect they ſhould be credited.

THE

have yet beſtowed every commendation on a Perſon whom they have ſingled out as the main Pillar of the Reformation, of which Mr. *Gutherie* ſtyles *Cranmer* the Father.

Mr. *Hume* ſays, he was undoubtedly a man of merit—adorned with candour and ſincerity, and all thoſe virtues, which were fitted to make him uſeful and amiable in Society—that his moral qualities procured him univerſal reſpect; and the courage of his Martyrdom made him the Hero of the Proteſtant Party."

The *Biog. Brit.* ſays, "He muſt be allowed to be the glory of *England*, and one of the chief Founders of the Reformation."

I might quote a volume of the like Eulogies heaped on him by *Fox*, *Strype*, &c. The ſounder few, however, have had too juſt a regard to that decency which every one owes himſelf, to fall into ſuch extravagancies.——The celebrated Mr. *Prinne*, Keeper of the Records in the Tower, under *Charles* II. accuſes him of perjury; of cruelty in burning the Profeſſors of the Goſpel; of being the chief Author of all the calamities of *Henry* the eighth's reign, and of ſubverting the Church; and repreſents him as a Hypocrite, an Apoſtate, and Rebel *.

Dr. *Fuller*, who has undertaken *Cranmer*'s defence, is at a loſs how to reply to any of the nine Articles which Mr. *Prinne* lays to his charge, moſt of which he gives up, and ſays, in a homely phraſe, he will leave him, where he is guilty, to ſink or ſwim by himſelf. Church Hiſt. b. 5, pag. 186.

* *Prinne* Antipathy of Prelacy and Monarchy.

THE ſeverity I have related, was not exerciſed on *Cranmer* alone. Two hundred and ſeventy perſons, during this Reign, underwent the like puniſhment, at different times, and in different parts of the Kingdom; of whom a hundred and fifty were put to death, or died in priſon, after *Cranmer*'s execution *. A great number of theſe unhappy perſons ſuffered in the Dioceſe of *London*, of which *Bonner* was Biſhop, who is repreſented as the chief Incendiary of that flame; and *London* being the Capital, was likewiſe the Theatre, where the Delinquents were chiefly to make their appearance.—Great moderation was uſed in other parts of the Kingdom: not one was put to death in the Dioceſe of *Canterbury*, after CARDINAL POLE was promoted to that See: one only in that of *York*, of which Dr. *Heath* was Archbiſhop, and very few in the four Welch Dioceſes: one in each of thoſe of *Wells*, *Exeter*, *Peterborough*, and *Lincoln*, though this be the moſt extenſive in *England*: two in that of *Ely*, and three in each of thoſe of *Briſtol*, and *Saliſbury*; and none in thoſe of *Oxford*, *Glouceſter*, *Worceſter* and *Hereford* †.

* *John Fox* is the original Author, from whom this Account is taken, which has been very accurately examined by the learned Father *Parſons*, who lived very near thoſe times, and has ſhewn that great abatements are to be made in what the Compiler of the Acts and Monuments ſays, as to the number, behaviour, and cauſe of the Sufferers—that he has advanced many and manifeſt falſehoods, and made himſelf ſuſpected of ſtill more: which cauſed an ingenuous and eminent Divine of the Church of *England* to paſs this cenſure on him, "that where he produces Records, he may be credited; but as to other relations he was of very ſlender authority."

Poſt *Thomæ Cranmeri* mortem uſque ad *Mariæ* obitum, ob Religionem qui ſupplicio affecti ſunt, aut damnati in carcere perierunt, per varias Regni civitates, oppida, caſtella, numerati ſunt à Curioſis uſque ad CLXXVI. *Thuanus*, Hiſt. lib. xvii. p. 512. C. edit. *Aurelian.* anni 1620.

† *Heylin*, Hiſt. Ref. p. 226.

The Statutes, on which thofe who fuffered were tried and condemned, were thofe of *Richard* II. and *Henry* IV. and V. and they fet forth that the occafion on which they were made, "was the Errours which fprang up againft the ancient Faith of the Church, to which both Houfes of Parliament obferve the diftinguifhed attachment of the Englifh above all other Nations.—The liberty which itinerant Preachers gave themfelves of travelling from place to place and broaching falfe doctrine—That they, likewife, raifed commotions againft the King, the fafety of the Realm, and all order in Society, infomuch that their tenets were not only heretical, but feditious.—The Statutes, therefore, order the Sheriffs and other civil Magiftrates to feize on all fuch Offenders, and bring them before their Ordinary; and on being found guilty, they are to be put to death, or punifhed according to the nature and degree of the Offence."

These Statutes had been repealed in the late Reign, and the reafons for reviving them in this feem, in great meafure, to have been the fame which caufed them to be firft enacted, the prefervation and peace of the State againft their attempts, who, under the pretence of confcience would have fubverted it. The candour of Proteftant Writers, in relating thefe provocations, makes it needlefs to fearch for any proof of them elfewhere than in their Works. I have, already, fpoke of the treafonable practices againft the Queen's title, by the Innovators, which were preceded by feveral hardfhips fhe had endured, all her Brother's Reign, from the fame Principles: thefe were fucceeded by *Wyat*'s rebellion, who was a profeffed Calvinift. Notwithftanding this, two years of her reign had paffed without any thing which had the air of perfecution on account of Religion. A Proclamation, indeed, had been pub- lifhed,

Anno 1, *Mariæ.*

liſhed, commanding all Foreigners, who had fled their Country for hereſy, murder, treaſon and other crimes, to leave the Realm, where they had abetted the late Rebellion, and were a public nuiſance: but this proceeding cannot come under the name of Perſecution.

THE Provocations I am ſpeaking of, and which followed very faſt one on the other, were treaſonable practices againſt the Government; and indignities offered to the Religion the Sovereign profeſſed; and to the Queen's Perſon, on no other account but becauſe ſhe profeſſed it. An Aſſaſſin attempted to take away her life, and, when he came to execution, juſtified the fact. *—Another perſonated King *Edward*, that he might diſpute her title. †—Her Preacher was ſhot at in the pulpit at St. *Paul's*, and her Chaplains inſulted and pelted in the Streets.—When public prayers were ordered on a ſuppoſition of her pregnancy, a Reformed Clergyman made uſe of this form, "that it would pleaſe God either to turn her heart from Idolatry, or to ſhorten her days;" and when ſeveral who met at this Aſſembly were taken up, Biſhop *Hooper* comforted them by letter, as ſuffering Saints ‡.— A Dog's head was ſhaved, in contempt of the Clerical tonſure; and, by an impiety which I have a difficulty to repeat, a wafer was put into a dead Cat's paws, in deriſion of the holy Sacrament, and hung up at *Cheapſide.*—Pretended Revelations, and the forgery of the Spirit in the Wall, were employed to diſturb the Government, and diſcredit the Maſs and Confeſſion. Theſe and the like impieties were followed by overt Acts of Rebellion, of which, an attempt to rob the treaſury, the inſurrection in the North, and the ſeizure

* *Collier's* Ch Hiſt. v. 2. b. 5, p. 380.
† *Fox*, Coll. Vol. 2. B.5. p. 374.
‡ *Stow's* Chron. pag. 624.

of *Scarborough* Caſtle to favour a French invaſion, are inſtances *.

MANY Engliſh Proteſtants, as they are now termed, though they were chiefly Zuinglians and Calviniſts, at this time left their native Country, and retired into different parts of *Germany* and *Switzerland*. Here they as little agreed among themſelves in doctrine and diſcipline, as they formerly had with that Church, whoſe communion they forſook; and ſet up the Puritan faction, againſt Rites and Ceremonies; the Preſbyterian, againſt Epiſcopacy; and the Independant, againſt Paſtors in general. Thoſe who retired to *Geneva*, publiſhed a new Tranſlation of the Bible into the Engliſh tongue, in which, to ſay nothing of the errors in point of Religion, there were ſeveral notes which the Civil Magiſtrate muſt have looked on as dangerous and ſeditious.—Theſe ſtrange Proceedings gave the Germans the like opinion of theſe ſuffering Confeſſors, they had already had of thoſe whom the Reformed Engliſh ſtyled Martyrs; to whom, indeed, they gave the ſame appellation, but with an epithet too groſs to find place here †.

How the LEGATE behaved in theſe tranſactions, we learn from one who was his Secretary, and who publiſhed his Life in a Country where he could be under no influence to repreſent his Lord's behaviour, as to the point in queſtion, otherwiſe than it really was; and at a time, when all ſuch miſrepreſentation would have anſwered no purpoſe, but to expoſe the Writer: and he informs us, the CARDINAL uſed his beſt endeavours that the Sectaries, who were ſtill very numerous, notwithſtanding many had left their Country,

* *Heylin*, Hiſt. Reſt. pag 234.

† Ambaſſ. de *Noailles*, tom. 4, pag. 343, &c. tom. 5, p. 335. *Heylin*, pag. 59. *Collier*, vol. 2. b. 5, pag. 401.

Country, might be treated with lenity, and no Capital punishment be inflicted on them; and though he could not hinder the judicial proceedings against such as were convicted of Heresy; and his station obliged him to discountenance doctrines, which were condemned by the Laws of the State, no less than by the Truth of the Gospel: yet he often reminded the Bishops, to whose cognizance these causes were brought in first instance, that they were Fathers as well as Judges. —When there was room for clemency towards any who were condemned to death, he interceded in their behalf.—He discoursed with several who were engaged in error, and accommodated himself to their various circumstances, "and made himself a Servant to All, that he might gain the more; to the weak he became as weak, that he might gain the weak: he made himself all things to all men, that he might save All." By this 1st *Cor.* ch. 11. Christian condescension he reclaimed, among others, Sir *John Cheek*, whose reputation and skill in the Latin and Greek languages, had recommended him to be Preceptor to *Edward* VI *.

THIS behaviour has so prepossessed a Writer of our own Country, though utterly averse to the CARDINAL's religious tenets, in favour of his humane and benevolent disposition, as to give us a debate, in which Bishop *Gardiner* is introduced as speaking in support of persecution, and the LEGATE against it †. But the Author's ingenuity, which is very great, has supplied the whole argument, of which I have found no trace in History.

ANOTHER celebrated personage, whose name is very high in the Catalogue of our present favourite Historians, and his authority very great, and

 who

* Vita *Poli*, pag. 33.

† *Hume*, Hist, of the *Tudors*, vol. 1, pag. 374.

who lived near the times I am ſpeaking of, being born only three years before the CARDINAL'S death, deſcribes him much in the ſame light, in which the Writer of his life repreſents him; and, in the intereſting paſſage I am about to quote, he deſcribes himſelf *.

" I AM obliged, ſays he in a letter to his intimate friend, the Cardinal Biſhop of *Auſbourg*, to publiſh, in my own defence, the Work *on the Church's Unity*, which the moſt earneſt ſolicitations of my Friends, have not yet prevailed on me to do.—This is owing to my being attacked with great virulence by one I never ſaw, and have no other knowledge of, than from the ſlanders he has thought fit to publiſh concerning me †. To make me odious, he repreſents me of a cruel and unrelenting nature, and attributes whatever I have done to reconcile the Emperor and the King of *France*, to a view of uniting their joint forces againſt the Lutherans. I need only appeal to you, my Lord, and to all who are acquainted with me, how little I deſerve, either from principle or temper, this imputation.—At the ſame time, I do not deny, but, the caſe ſuppoſed of any one's opinions being extremely pernicious, and he no leſs induſtrious to corrupt others than depraved himſelf, I might ſay, ſuch a one ſhould be capitally puniſhed; and, as a rotten member, cut off from the Body. But it was my conſtant declaration, that this remedy was not to be applied, till every gentler method had been made uſe

* Quanquam invitus faceret CARDINALIS POLUS, cui Religionis negotium commiſſum erat, ut in eos, quorum ſalutem tanto ſtudio quæreret, duriùs animadvertere cogeretur; quippe qui cogitabat, quod etiam ſæpius dicere auditus eſt, ſe ac cæteros Epiſcopos non ſolum Judices adverſus pravè de Religione ſentientes, ſed Patres eſſe conſtitutos. *Thuanus*, Hiſt. lib. 17, pag. 512, C.

† This was *Verger*, of whom mention has been made, Vol. 1, pag. 147, in the note.

uſe of; and I was ſo far from thinking that cures ſhould begin by amputation, or any other ſeverity, that, on all occaſions, both in public and private, when I was to give my opinion, it always was in the manner I have mentioned.—This fact is ſo notorious, that, on account of my lenity in puniſhing erroneous Doctrines, I have hardly eſcaped a ſuſpicion of favouring their cauſe whoſe perſons I ſcreened.—When I preſided at the Council of *Trent*, where ſentence was to be pronounced on All who had renounced the Doctrine of the Church, and the obedience due to her, there was no point I more frequently inculcated, than that, although we were the Judges of ſuch cauſes and perſons, we were, likewiſe, Fathers; by which name alone thoſe are called who aſſiſt at Councils, whilſt that of Judge is ſuppreſſed: and this was to remind us to behave in ſuch a manner as, in all our Decrees, there might be ſtill ſome mark of paternal affection: that, thoſe who had left our Communion, though they were our avowed Enemies, yet ought not to be conſidered by us in that light; that they were ſtill our Children, and as ſuch to be treated with the tenderneſs which the name claimed. Nor was this my opinion alone, but that of my Collegues, and the Judgment of the whole Council, who readily came into the ſame ſentiments *."

The only exception which has been made, with any foundation, to this general Character of Cardinal Pole, is a Commiſſion, iſſued out on occaſion of ſeveral pernicious doctrines that were taught and propagated in the Dioceſe of *Canterbury*; and, leſt the ſuppreſſion of it may ſeem to proceed from any apprehenſion of prejudicing his memory, ſincerity obliges me to take notice of it.

* *Reg. Poli* Epiſt. pars 4ª, pag. 156.

The Perſons, to whom it is directed, are required to inform themſelves of the fact, and have it certified by Oath, in the manner the Law directs in ſuch caſes; which is favourable to the Criminal.—They were to uſe their beſt endeavours to reclaim ſuch perſons; but if they remain obſtinate, they are to be excommunicated; and, if the atrocioufneſs of the crime requires it, delivered up to the Civil Magiſtrate *. In conſequence of which Commiſſion, he informs their Majeſties of ſome who had been convicted, and leaves them to be puniſhed as they deſerve †.

It is difficult to determine who were the moſt active in carrying on proſecutions of this kind, and exerting the literal ſeverity of Laws, which ſeem chiefly deſigned to deter Mankind from theſe criminal deviations from Truth, by the ſeverity of the puniſhment denounced againſt them. The greater number of the Biſhops were men of great moderation and averſe to ſuch meaſures, as appears by what has been ſaid in this Work of ſome of them, and from the teſtimony given by Proteſtant Hiſtorians of the reſt, except *Bonner*, and a very few more. Some leading Perſons about the court ſeem to have countenanced theſe meaſures, as neceſſary to ſecure the Government; and to have armed the Laws with all their terror againſt thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their inſults on Religion and the Miniſtry.—*Philip*'s behaviour afterwards in the Low Countries, where the Duke of *Alva*, by his orders, put ſuch numbers to death, makes it not improbable, that he favoured proceedings, which, for political reaſons, he would be

* Si facti atrocitas ita expoſceret. Ex *R. Poli*, fol. 29, b; and *Wilkins*, Conc. *Mag. Brit* vol. 4, pag. 173.

† Condigna animadverſione plectendos relinquimus. Ex *R. Poli*, fol. 30, b; and *Wilkins*, as above, pag. 174.

be thought to diſapprove.—As for the Queen, whoſe character I ſhall ſpeak to elſewhere, no one will wonder that her fondneſs for a huſband twelve years younger than herſelf, and her attachment not only to his perſon, but his family, from which ſhe deſcended by her Mother, ſhould cauſe her to aſſent to what he was inclined to.—Something, likewiſe, muſt be given to the temper of the times; which, however, neither began with this Princeſs, nor ended with her: and yet the bloody Reign of Queen *Mary* alone, is ſtill the diſmal ditty of every Nurſery, and we may ſay of it what the Poet does of the threadbare ballads of his days;

Cui non dictus Hylas *puer, et* Latonia Delos?

But far from retaliating this objection on her Succeſſor, who made actions of mere Religious import, treaſon and felony, and puniſhed thoſe who performed them accordingly, I would chuſe to treat this ſubject in ſuch a manner as to cover heats, not ſpread and perpetuate them.

Having related the Hiſtorical Facts which concern theſe Penalties, I muſt aſk the Reader's leave to add a few Reflections which elucidate the ſtate of the queſtion, and belong to this part of Cardinal Pole's Hiſtory, no leſs than the facts themſelves.—I have already ſhewn, that what gave occaſion to enact penal Laws againſt Hereticks in former Reigns, and to renew them in this, was the open Rebellion againſt the Government, to which this licentiouſneſs of opinions gave birth, as well as to the manifeſt ſubverſion of the Catholic Doctrine.—This cauſed the Legiſlature to conſider Hereſy not only as a grievous ſin againſt Almighty God, but as a heinous crime againſt the State: and as the cognizance of it belonged to the Church,

Church, Biſhops were required to examine thoſe who were accuſed of it; and, if they were found guilty, to deliver them over to the ſecular Power. —But it muſt be obſerved, that theſe Statutes are Laws of the Engliſh Realm, not Canons of the Catholic Church, and no more make part either of her Faith or Diſcipline, than the hardſhips Debtors undergo in our common Gaols, or the ſame puniſhment being aſſigned to murder and to the larceny of five ſhillings, can be imputed to the Church of *England.* Nor can it be replied, that theſe ſeverities have ſtill place in ſeveral Countries where the Catholic Religion prevails; as it is no argument againſt the general humanity and equity of Engliſh Proteſtants, that the uſages I have mentioned are the Statute Law, where the Reformed is the eſtabliſhed Religion.—The Catholic Church is ſo far from adjudging Hereticks to corporal puniſhment, much leſs to death, that all her criminal proceedings againſt ſuch as are accuſed of Hereſy ceaſe when the cauſe is cleared up, and her puniſhments extend no further than the ſpiritual ſtate of the offender. I ſhall exemplify this in as ſolemn an inſtance of the Church's juriſdiction as the caſe admits; and exerted by a Pope as jealous of his prerogative as ever filled the Pontifical throne: This was *Paul* IV. who in his Decree of *Cranmer*'s condemnation, which is directed to *Philip* and *Mary*, " only requires them to deal with him, after he is delivered up to the ſecular Court, as the Law directs *, without the leaſt inſinuation of any bodily puniſhment.—The ſame ſentence, in ſimilar caſes, is ſo univerſally underſtood not to extend to mutilation, or taking away the life of the Delinquent,

* Poſtquam Curiæ ſeculari traditus fuerit, id quod juris eſt, fieri mandetis. Ex Bulla *Pauli* IV. *Wilkins,* vol. 4. Conc. *Mag. Brit.* pag. 132.

linquent, that the Biſhop, or whoever delivers him to the Civil Magiſtrate, always concludes the proceedings of the Spiritual Court in this manner; "We beſeech you with all earneſtneſs, that for the love of Almighty God, and on the motive of compaſſion, and becauſe we aſk it of you, that you will not condemn this miſerable perſon to death, or the loſs of his limbs *." The laws of *England*, at the time I am ſpeaking of, puniſhed Hereſy with death, but the Church is not accountable for Laws which ſhe did not eſtabliſh, and leaves their execution to whom it belongs.— The ſecular Judge every where proceeds on the ſame ſuppoſition, and in the Writ for *Cranmer*'s execution, the King and Queen expreſly take notice, "that the Criminal being condemned for Hereſy, and degraded; as the Church neither had, nor ought to proceed any further in the affair, he was delivered over to them, the King and Queen, *according to the laws and cuſtoms of the Realm, provided in ſuch caſes*, and condemned to be burnt, in deteſtation of his guilt, and for a warning to other Chriſtians †.

THE LEGATE had already on *Cranmer*'s being condemned as a Heretick, and his See declared to be vacated, been appointed Adminiſtrator of the Archbiſhoprick, and the Revenues were aſſigned to him. At the ſame time, he had received the rank of Cardinal Prieſt of the Church of St. *Mary* in *Coſmedin*, of which he was before only

* *Wilkins*, vol. 4. Conc. *Mag. Brit.* pag. 136.

† Et cùm etiam mater Eccleſia non habet quod ulteriùs in hac parte faciat, aut facere debeat...... Juxta leges et conſuetudines Regni noſtri *Angliæ* damnatum et degradatum comburi facietis, in hujuſmodi criminis deteſtationem, et aliorum Chriſtianorum exemplum manifeſtum. *Ibid.* pag. 140. Ex Rot. Pat. 2o et 2o *Phil.* et *Mar.* pars 2.

only Cardinal Deacon, and was now both Prieſt and Prelate *. But on *Cranmer*'s execution, the Queen nominated him to the See of *Canterbury*, as ſhe had before ſignified her intentions, and on his ſhewing the difficulty he had to accept of the offer, the Princeſs, who had the affair much at heart, having repreſented to him the exigencies of the times, and the aid which the Church of her Realm expected from his zeal, he acquieſced in the choice her Majeſty had made; and ſending *Godwell*, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, to *Rome*, on affairs of moment, and on this among the reſt, he informed the Pope, that if ſuch was his good pleaſure, he conſented to be conſecrated; but on this condition, that he ſhould be no more obliged to go to *Rome*, or be abſent from a Poſt, which required reſidence.—Cardinal *Moron*, in quality of Protector of *England*, as the cuſtom is, was to ſpeak to the character of the other Prelates, whom the Queen had named to the vacant Biſhopricks, and having performed this office to the reſt, the Pope, who had reſerved to himſelf the commendation of the Archbiſhop, began with a compliment to the Queen, and then diſcourſed on the CARDINAL in ſuch a ſtrain as nothing could be added to the Panegyrick; and concluded with ſaying, he owed this teſtimony to his learning, piety and integrity, with which he had been long acquainted †.

THE CARDINAL, on receiving the Decree of his election to the See of *Canterbury*, wrote to the Pope in the following terms: "I have received, ſays he, from your Holineſs, the Decree by which I am nominated to the See of *Canterbury*, and at the firſt ſignification of it I may truly ſay, that the greatneſs of the charge gave me a juſt diſtruſt of my ſufficiency to acquit myſelf of it, and would have

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ª, pag. 142. Regiſt. *Poli*.
† Vita *Poli*, pag. 31.

have deterred me from making ſuch an undertaking my own choice. I reflected, afterwards, on the Princes, at whoſe recommendation I was named to this Poſt of Honour; on the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST, who had given an illuſtrious teſtimony in my favour; and on the Aſſeſſors, by whoſe approbation I had been choſen, and on thoſe, whoſe welfare I was to ſuperintend; and, laſtly, that I was to perform this duty in my own Country, which is, as it ought to be, moſt dear to me.—On theſe conſiderations I did not dare to decline the burthen, though but by a ſingle word *.

THE LEGATE was ordained Prieſt and received the Pall, and the other Ornaments of Primacy in the Church of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary* of Arches, which is a Pariſh belonging to the Dioceſe of *Canterbury*; and having performed the divine ſervice with great ſolemnity, he preached to an incredible concourſe of Nobility and Gentry; which manner of inſtruction he continued in different places of his Dioceſe, and particularly in his Cathedral ever after. The feeling of his conſcience, as has been ſeen, was too delicate, and his knowledge of duty too correct, not to be informed that Reſidence is the obligation of all Biſhops; and he entreated the Queen to conſent to his complying with it; or, at leaſt, to ſpend the greater part of the year in the diſcharge of it. To which ſhe prudently oppoſed the charity he owed to the whole National Church, of which he was Primate, and which ought to have greater weight with him than a conſideration for any particular part: that this care could no where be exerted to ſo much advantage, as when he was near her perſon, and aſſiſted at the Councils, in which the welfare

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5a, pag. 17.

welfare of the whole Realm was interested. The Divines and other qualified persons, who were consulted, were of the same opinion, and it was the general voice, that the Primate could not, without being wanting to what he owed the Public, refuse what the Queen, in these circumstances, required of him.

Nor did his care extend only to the great sources of good, which I have already mentioned in speaking of the National Council; but, likewise, set on foot those establishments by which the Divine Founder of Christianity has recommended the perfection of his Law, and which have been no less followed than taught by his Disciples. By his and the Queen's piety and care some Religious Houses were founded in *London*. The Chapter of *Westminster* being dissoved, the Convent was restored to the Monks, and Dr. *John Feckenham* appointed Abbot. The Priory of the Hospital Knights of St. *John*, near *Smithfield*, was restored the following year, and Sir *John Fresham* placed over them; and eight more Abbeys were founded and endowed out of the lands of dissolved Monasteries, which were still invested in the Crown *.

The Chancellorship of the University of *Oxford* being vacated by the resignation of Sir *John Mason*, Knight, Fellow of *All-Souls*, and Privy Counsellor to *Edward* VI. the Legate was chosen to that high Post of honour; as he had been, at *Gardiner*'s death, to that of *Cambridge* †. The Decree, by which the former was conferred on him, was sent to *Greenwich*, where he then was, by some learned members of the University: and the motives they assign for making choice of him are, " that he had formerly been a credit to the University,

* Ambassades de *Noailles*.
† Catalog. Cancel. *Cantab.*

University, and was now an honour to the whole Kingdom, and an ornament to the English Church; they take notice, in particular, of his indefatigable vigilance and paternal solicitude in repressing vice and error, which were grown to an enormous size, and recalling ancient Discipline, innocence of manners, and useful learning; and lastly, they mention the singular good will he bore the University, and the daily proofs he gave of it *."

THE CARDINAL returned his thanks to that illustrious Body by a very elegant letter, in which, besides the expressions usual in such an intercourse of Civility, he takes occasion to mention the great men who had graced the place to which they had elected him; and as the University, in its decree, had taken particular notice of *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Gardiner* of *Winchester*, as persons, who, while they were at the head of the University, had greatly encouraged both Virtue and Letters, he observes, they had with peculiar discernment, selected those two: on whom he passes this peculiar judgment, that two Persons could not be named in the whole Kingdom, in whom the supreme Being had given a clearer evidence of his mercy towards this Country; and that one of them perceiving the ruin which threatned Religion, opposed himself to it by a memorable example of fortitude, and being oppressed himself, was more useful to the Public by such a death, than any of those who survived him: the Other, having been a part of the common fall, was permitted to live, and, when the time of raising the ruins was come, had, more than any one else, contributed to so laudable an undertaking.—He had signified to their Deputies,

* Elect. CARD. POLI, in Cancel. *Oxon.* *Wilkins*, Conc. *Mag. Brit.* t. 4, p. 144.

Deputies, he ſays, that although he was diſpoſed to do every good Office to the Univerſity, and to exert his authority in favour of its Members, yet he had rather they would confer the Chancellorſhip on ſome other perſon, who had the confidence of their Majeſties, and was endowed with the qualifications, for which they juſtly celebrated thoſe who had formerly held that dignity. But as they earneſtly inſiſted on his not refuſing this mark of their eſteem and good will, he had accepted of it rather as their choice than his own inclination *.

1 *Ap.* 1556, *Greenwich.*

I HAVE cited this more willingly as it is a proof of the Legate's being ſuperior to all that reſentment which the moſt generous minds often feel at the envy and jealouſy with which others thwart their undertakings. Though he had a long time experienced much of all this from *Gardiner*, yet becauſe he judged him uſeful to the State, particularly at that juncture, he ſeconded his views, whilſt he lived, on all occaſions, in which he thought them juſtifiable; and, after his death, never failed to do honour to his memory, and not awaken the remembrance of any fact that might ſully it.

How deſerving CARDINAL POLE was of a place ſo ſuited to his high birth and genius, appears from his behaviour in it. Immediately on his election, the new Chancellor took care to have the Statutes reviſed, and where he found any thing deficient, he applied a remedy, and added what he further judged neceſſary for the better regulation of the Univerſity. On this account ſeveral candid Proteſtant Writers have acknowledged this ſeat of Learning to have flouriſhed more in his time, than either under *Edward* or *Elizabeth* This appears from a paſſage in thoſe Statutes reviſed and publiſhed by Archbiſhop *Laud*,

* *R. Poli* Epiſ. pars 5. pag. 88.

Laud, one of his Succeſſors, who ſpeaks in the following manner; " At *Edward*'s acceſſion, a freſh effort was made to revive the ſplendor of the Univerſity, and as the King favoured the undertaking, and the charm of Novelty ſtill continued, the Work was begun. Soon after, when the Crown devolved to *Mary*, the ſame Work was again taken in hand, under CARDINAL POLE's protection. New Statutes were made, but on as narrow a plan as the former. However, in this fluctuating ſtate of Laws, the Univerſity flouriſhed, Sciences were encouraged, diſcipline was kept up; and by a deſirable happineſs of the times, an ingenuous candour ſupplied the defect of Statutes, and what was wanting in the Laws was made up by the manners. In ſucceeding times there was an equal want of both *."

IGNATIUS of *Loyola*, Founder of the Order of Jeſuits, died a few months after the time I am ſpeaking of. Any mention of him would be foreign to the ſubject of this Work, was it not for the intimacy between him and the LEGATE, which appears from their letters to each other. Theſe minutes, I am inclined to think, will give a very different idea from what an Engliſh Reader is generally taught to entertain of this celebrated Perſonage; and the good faith of Hiſtory re- *31 July, 1556.*

* *Edvardo* ſexto ad clavum ſedente, novo ſudatum eſt molimine, præſcribente Rege et lenocinante novitate, primò viſum opus admitti. Paulò pòſt potiente rerum *Mariâ*, ſub CARDINALIS POLI auſpiciis, idem recruduit labor. Novæ exinde latæ leges, ſed pari cum prioribus anguſtiâ: interim tamen inter incerta vacillans ſtatuta viguit Academia, colebantur ſtudia, enituit Diſciplina, et optandâ temporum fœlicitate tabularum defectum reſarcivit innatus candor et quidquid legibus deerat, moribus ſuppletum eſt. Decurrente temporum ſerie, et vitiis et legibus pariter laboratum eſt.

Is has been remarked, that Archbiſhop *Laud* was charged, on his trial, with this paſſage, as reflecting on Queen *Elizabeth* and the Reformation; but he anſwered, the Preface was not his;

quires that popular prejudices ſhould not prevail over that impartiality which is due to all Characters, and which they cannot but find from ſo diſcerning an age and country as has fallen to our ſhare. The hardſhips under which that body of men now lies, can be no reaſon for not doing juſtice to their founder; and the good ſenſe and equity of an Engliſh Reader muſt make him deſpiſe a Writer, who then only was an index to merit, when popular favour ſhone on it. This ſhade is no diſcredit to the great ſervices they have done to the Catholic Church; to which, the encouragement they have met with, above two hundred years, in all Countries of that Communion, bear witneſs; and have no where been more cheriſhed, or of greater emolument both to the Chriſtian and Literary ſtate than in thoſe Kingdoms, from whence they have been lately baniſhed. This juſtice is the more becoming in the preſent ſtate, as ſome of our Writers have aſſerted the LEGATE's diſapprobation of this Order, and his oppoſing its eſtabliſhment amongſt us, in the Reign of Queen *Mary* *.— But let the documents ſpeak for themſelves, and the Reader be at large to make his own obſervations.

SEVERAL years before the time I am ſpeaking of, and ſhortly after *Ignatius* began to form his Order, *Bobadilla*, one of his firſt Aſſociates, had paſſed ſome time in reading leſſons of Theology, preaching and adminiſtering the Sacraments at *Viterbo*, which was the Capital of CARDINAL POLE's Government, and had moreover greatly benefited that Province by the example of a blameleſs and

his; and that the words I have cited only related to the Statutes and Manners of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, in thoſe times; not to the Church or Religion.

* There is a ſhuffling Article on this head in *Burnet*, Hiſt. Ref. part 2, pag. 327, from whence it has been tranſcribed into the Bio. Brit. under the Article POLE [x].

and laudable life. But the Pope ſtanding in need of his labours elſewhere, ordered *Ignatius* to ſignify it to the Governor and recall *Bobadilla*. On this, the Governor let *Ignatius* know the unwillingneſs with which he ſhould part with ſo deſerving a perſon, and offers himſelf with the utmoſt readineſs to ſerve him and his Society *.

BEFORE the LEGATE ſet out from *Bruſſels* on his way to *England*, *Ignatius* had ſignified to him the hopes he had of the ſucceſs of his Embaſſy, and, ſoon after, he let him know, the news had reached *Rome* of the deſired event being come to paſs in ſo ſhort a time, that it was manifeſtly the Work of that Being, who has no occaſion for the opportunity of circumſtances and ſeaſons to bring about whatever is pleaſing to his divine and perfect will.—He informs him of the univerſal joy this intelligence of a flouriſhing Kingdom being brought back from error to the paths of truth had cauſed, and of the particular ſatisfaction his Society had received from it; that as no perſons were more attached to his Excellence than themſelves, on whom he had conferred the higheſt obligations, ſo it afforded them a ſingular pleaſure that the Divine Wiſdom had thought fit to commit ſo great a work to his care.—He informs him, alſo, of the proſperous ſtate of the new Inſtitution; that in the Roman College, where all Sciences, Phyſic and the Law excepted, were taught, there were above ſeventy Students of their own Body, and above five hundred who frequented theſe Schools from the City.—That the ſtudents in the German College anſwered their warmeſt wiſhes, among whom was an Engliſh Youth of quick parts and good diſpoſitions; and if the LEGATE thought fit to ſend any others who had an aptitude for letters, he had great hopes

 they

* *R. Poli*, Epiſ. pars 5a, pag. 115.

they would ſoon be in a condition to return to their Country every way qualified to be of ſervice to her, and a credit to the place from whence they came; as great care was taken to bring them acquainted with what was laudable in that Capital, and to preſerve them from the contagion of the contrary *.

THE LEGATE in his anſwer thanks him for his congratulation on the ſucceſs of the Engliſh affairs, and tells him he had read with a particular complacency the progreſs of his Society, which he hoped would ſtill increaſe, and that the character of the Pope, who was lately choſen, was ſuch as could leave no doubt of his ſhewing ſpecial favour and protection to ſo deſerving a body of men †.—There is another letter to *Ignatius* to the ſame purpoſe. As to the propoſal of ſending Engliſh Youths to the Roman College, I have met with nothing which throws any further light on it. The urgent and manifold concerns which divided the LEGATE's time and thoughts might, perhaps, only allow him leiſure to enter on that univerſal plan of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, of which I have given a detail; and he might have wanted an opportunity to deſcend to ſeveral particulars, which a longer life and fewer exigencies of the times he lived in, would have afforded.

Paul IV.

15 *Nov.* 1556.

IGNATIUS died ſome months after the date of this laſt letter, and *Laynes*, who ſucceeded him in the Government of the Society, having informed the LEGATE of it, he aſſures him of the part he took in a loſs which was common to all; and obſerves, as *Laynes* had done, that he made no doubt, but being nearly united to the ſource of all good, he was more in a condition to aſſiſt them, than when on earth, and he adds ſeveral obliging expreſſions both to the Superior General and his Body

* *Reg. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5a, pag. 117.
† *Ibid.* pag. 119.

Body *.—*Ignatius* had often ſaid he deſired to ſee three things before he left the World; his treatiſe of Spiritual Exerciſes approved by the holy See; his Order confirmed by the ſame authority, and the inſtitutes of it become public.—He died with this ſatisfaction; the Order of Jeſuits was already ſpread almoſt over the whole world, and divided into twelve Provinces, which contained, at leaſt, a hundred Colleges, beſides the other Houſes deſtined for the uſe of the Profeſſed Religious.

A FEW years before his death, the moſt celebrated of his Diſciples, *Francis Xavier*, had finiſhed a life, which has been the object of admiration not to the Catholic Church only, but to thoſe who are eſtranged from her tenets. After having enlightened the Empire of *Japan* and ſeveral other Kingdoms and Provinces of the Eaſt with the Goſpel, he died in the Iſland of *Sanciano*, as he was preparing to transfer that bleſſing to *China*; and the Authors I have cited have vied with each other in celebrating his zeal, the ſanctity of his manners, the uncommon gifts he received to execute the office of Ambaſſador of JESUS CHRIST, his heroic patience and courage; and, on a full conviction of his claim to the title, have ſtiled him the Apoſtle of the *Indies*, and a ſecond St. *Paul* †. 1552.

* *Reg. Poli*, Epiſt. pars 5a, pag. 120, 121.

‡ *Baldeus*, Hiſtory of the *Indies*. *Hackluyt*, Diſcoveries of the Engliſh, part 2, vol. 2. *Tavernier*.

SECT. XI.

The LEGATE'*s behaviour under the treatment he received from* Paul IV.

The manner of his Death.

THE calamities of a long war between *France* and *Spain* had now ceaſed, and all *Chriſtendom*, which had felt, more or leſs, the effects of theſe two Powers being at variance, ſeemed to conceive ſome hopes of a laſting peace. * This pleaſing proſpect had not been enjoyed above two years when the attention of *Europe* was called off to ſomething leſs agreeable; a diſſention between *Paul* IV. and *Philip* of *Spain*, King of *England*, which was either the cauſe or the pretext for a rupture between *France* and *Spain*. This gave CARDINAL POLE an opportunity of exerting that patience and moderation, which had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed the other parts of his life; but does not ſeem to have ever appeared to ſo great an advantage, as when he was not very far from being removed to that ſtate which was to be its reward.

THE ſevereſt crucible in which Heaven tries and refines the pureſt Virtue, is when thoſe who by their ſtation ſhould encourage the cauſe of goodneſs, give up what this character requires of them to envy and jealouſy, and under ſome pretended colouring, gratify their own cauſeleſs reſentment, and injure that cauſe they ought to ſupport. Whoever has fortitude to bear up under ſuch an oppreſſion, and realize in practice that Heroiſm,

* A truce of five years was concluded in 1555, and broke in 1557.

iſm, of which ſuch engaging Ideas are formed and ſo few examples ſet, that Man is great indeed. The following opportunity was that which the CARDINAL had of ſhewing this greatneſs of ſoul and the manner in which he ſhewed it.

PAUL IV. had taken up an animoſity, which was hereditary between the *Caraffa* family, of which he was deſcended, and the *Colonna*. Each of them had large poſſeſſions in the ſtate of *Naples*; and in all conteſts about that Kingdom, the former have favoured the intereſts of *France*, and the latter thoſe of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. The *Colonnas* are likewiſe Vaſſals of the Pope, having large Baronies and lands in the Papal dominions, which they hold of the See of *Rome*; and *Paul*, on ſome pretext with which the wilfulneſs and acrimony of old age furniſhed him, * had cauſed *Marc Antony Colonna* to be accuſed of high treaſon, and, on his not appearing at his trial, to be condemned, and had ſeized the Dutchy of *Paliano* and other Caſtles and Eſtates belonging to that Nobleman, and given them to his Nephew *John Caraffa*. He had, likewiſe treated the other branches of the *Colonna* family, and the *Sfortias* with great ſeverity, and thrown *Aſcanio Sfortia*, the Cardinal Chamberlain, and a particular friend of the LEGATE, into priſon.

ON this the head of the *Colonna* family having recourſe to the Spaniſh intereſt, the Viceroy of *Naples*, by *Philip*'s orders, had entered the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate at the head of an army too powerful for the Pope to oppoſe. He had been included in the late truce between *France* and *Spain*, as an Ally of the former, and this behaviour ſeemed a violation of that treaty; he ſent, there-

 fore,

* Cæterum, his tot virtutibus inerat ingenium ferox et pervicax, et elatus animus vaſtuſque et adverlanti neſciens cedere, prorſuſque imperii nimius. *Gratiani* de caſibus illuſtrium Virorum, pag. 316.

fore, another of his Nephews, Cardinal *Charles Caraffa*, into *France*, in order to engage that Court in his interefts againft *Philip*; and remind *Henry* II. of the ancient claim of his anceftors to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and offer him all the weight of his Uncle's power, which he took care to magnify, to make it good. He prevailed fo far on the French King, that he fent him back with 2000 men; and a treaty of alliance was agreed on at *Rome* by the Cardinals of *Lorrain* and *Tournon*, on the part of the Court of *France*. The French army entered *Italy* foon after *; but the *Spaniards*, who had every where the fuperiority, defeated the Pope's troops and thofe of his Ally, and took feveral of his towns.

Novemb. 1556.

THIS has no other connexion with the fubject of this work than as the good offices the LEGATE interpofed in order to bring about an accommodation, awakened in the Pope's breaft an ancient malevolence he had entertained againft Him, and gave occafion to the trial I have juft hinted at. And as this is one of the moft interefting fcenes of the CARDINAL's life, it well deferves to be fet forth in fuch a detail and with all thofe circumftances, which may place it in its full light, and neither deprive the CARDINAL's memory of the honour, nor the Reader of the example of fuch an inftance of fortitude.

SOME years before the time I am fpeaking of, CARDINAL POLE in a letter to *Hieron Muzzarelli*, one of the great officers of *Julius* the Third's houfehold, had entered on a long and fenfible difcuffion of the uneafinefs he lay under at the want of good will he had experienced from the prefent Pope, who was then Archbifhop of *Naples*, and known by the title of the *Theatine* Cardinal; though

Magifter facri *Palatii.*

* *Ribier* ii. 645, 648, 649, 658, 660.

though, he says, he was not conscious to himself of having given any occasion to this behaviour, and had always greatly honoured that Prelate for the uncommon regularity of his manners, of which all were witnesses who were acquainted with him. *Muzzarelli* had informed the CARDINAL of several significations of the Archbishop's regard, and as a common friend to both, had entreated him to acquiesce in the assurances he gave him of it—that, whereas the CARDINAL had thoughts of writing an Apology for himself against some rumours which were spread to the disadvantage of his Orthodoxy, the Archbishop had desired him, for the honour of the sacred College, not to descend to a cause so much beneath the dignity of such Associates; and, in as much as it was personal to the CARDINAL, he took the justification on himself.—The CARDINAL says, he hopes the Archbishop's whole behaviour will be uniform with this and the like declarations; but that there were several persons who cautioned him against laying much stress on them; and who on the CARDINAL's repeating the instances of friendship he had lately received from him, had accused his simplicity for believing others as sincere as himself: they insisted particularly on the necessity of this diffidence with respect to the testimony he had given in the CARDINAL's favour to those who preside at the inquisition, and to the Pope himself; for why, say they, should he bring up your name in such a place and before such Judges, unless it was to shew you were not clear of suspicion in their estimate? He concludes in this remarkable manner; notwithstanding all this, I will give greater credit to what the Archbishop says of his own dispositions, and what *Muzzarelli* writes of them, than to any thing else; or even to any former sentiment in which that Prelate may have been. But

though

though it belongs to us both not to injure this mutual friendſhip, yet this duty is chiefly incumbent on the perſon who was thought to have violated it. —That, no one could object to him any ſingle inſtance in which that Prelate could think himſelf injured ; but that he, the CARDINAL had been often blamed for taking his part with too much warmth, when others found fault with him— that, his Correſpondent might aſſure the Archbiſhop of every good office which could be expected from one who had a habit of ſincerity and good will in his regard, and that he would take care this aſſurance ſhould not deceive him nor any of their friends *.

THE war was ſcarcely broke out between the Pontiff and *Philip*, but the Engliſh LEGATE wrote to the former with the wiſdom of a Counſellor and the ſanctity of a Primate ; and, at the ſame time, uſed all his endeavours with the King, who was in *Flanders*, and with her Majeſty at home, that all further hoſtilities might ceaſe.

" No diſagreement, ſays he, writing to the Pope, could be more unſeaſonable to the whole Chriſtian Commonwealth, and to this Kingdom in particular, than that which has now commenced between your Holineſs and the King ; and no news could be more unwelcome than that hoſtilities had proceeded ſo far as to annoy the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate and *Rome* itſelf. This incident is ſo much the more affecting as the motives of mutual love and agreement between your Holineſs and his Majeſty are greater and more numerous ; the chief of which is the ſingular zeal which the King and his Royal Conſort ſhewed, as ſoon as they had taken poſſeſſion of theſe Realms, of recalling their People to the true Religion and the obedience of the Holy See ; on which

* *Reg. Poli* Epiſt. pars 4^a, pag. 91.

which account your Holineſs declared the great and ſingular regard and love you bore him.—There are, beſides, ſeveral particular ties of mutual good will and amity, which connect you and the King; one of which is, that you were born and educated in the hereditary States of his Majeſty, where your noble family enjoys great wealth and honours; that you paſſed part of your youth in the Court of his Grandfather; were Counſellor to his Father, and deputed by the holy See Legate to him. Theſe circumſtances you are wont to repeat with pleaſure; and on being raiſed to the Popedom, you ordered me to mention them to his Majeſty, when I complimented him in your name on the ceſſion of the ſaid Kingdoms made to him.—Wherefore though I had not received your commands as to the manner in which I was to behave at this juncture, yet the intereſt I take in the cauſe of Religion, the duty I owe to you, moſt holy Father, and the affection which, for very good reaſons, I have long bore his Majeſty, will not permit me to be either ſilent or unactive in an affair of this importance. I have already repreſented, to the King, by letter, every argument which this ſubject ſuggeſted to me, but to no effect: the only thing I have left is to ſend one of my Houſhold to *Rome*, to know your orders, and be informed of your welfare, concerning which I am, as I ought to be, very ſolicitous.—He ends the letter by deſiring the Pope to ſend the patents for four vacant Biſhopricks, that they might be immediately ſupplied with the Paſtors who had been named to them, and whom he recommends to the Pope, and gives a very honourable teſtimony in their favour. This Diſpatch was ſent by *Henry Penning*, the LEGATE's Engliſh Secretary *.

THE

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5a, pag 20, and pag. 22.

The Pope, at firſt, ſeemed pleaſed with this inſtance of duty, and thanked the Legate for it; yet, ſoon after, he looked on it as a troubleſome cenſure of his paſt conduct, and a check to the hoſtile deſigns on which he was wholly bent. His late loſſes had only exaſperated a haughty ſpirit, and he now propoſed by an alliance with *France* to drive the Spaniards out of *Italy*; and, perhaps, was not without hopes of getting poſſeſſion of *Naples*, and realizing an ancient claim the Popes have to that Kingdom. For when the Neapolitans, ſome years before the time I am ſpeaking of, roſe up in arms againſt the cruelties and contumelious uſage of *Peter* of *Toledo*, Duke of *Alva*, their Viceroy, this Pontiff when he was Cardinal, had endeavoured to perſuade *Paul* III. to make uſe of the preſent opportunity of ridding *Naples* of the Spaniſh yoke, and renewing his own pretenſions to it; which are ſo far acknowledged by the Sovereigns of that State, that, at their acceſſion, they pay a tribute of 6000 Ducats and a white Hackney to the See of *Rome*. The Legate's pacific diſpoſitions, and the weight his integrity gave him in all deliberations were an obſtacle to the Pope's views. He choſe, therefore, to conſider his advice, though given with all poſſible reſpect, as a breach of duty rather than a proof of it, and to treat him in the manner I am going to relate.

Since the hoſtilities were begun in *Italy*, nothing was wanting to an open war between *France* and *Spain* but the declaration of it, which ceremony was now complied with *. On this, *Philip* came to *England* after an abſence of almoſt

25 *Jan.* 1557.

* Negot. d' *Amboiſe de Noailles.*

almoſt two years, in order to engage the nation in a war, which was purely Spaniſh, and equally contrary to the engagements we had with the *French* and to our own intereſts. Several reaſons indeed were aſſigned, as is uſual on ſuch occaſions, of which invention always furniſhes as many as truth, but quite deſtitute of foundation. The Queen, however, was prevailed on by her inclination to her Huſband, and againſt her own better judgment, to come into this meaſure; and though the wiſer part of the Council was of their Sovereign's mind, yet war was declared againſt a Nation, whoſe name alone is deemed almoſt a ſufficient title for it; and *Philip*, having gained his point, left *England*, never more to return to it. *May.* 7th *July.*

WHILST theſe actions of hoſtility were meditating for the field, the Pope was exerting at *Rome*, in a different cauſe, an equal enmity againſt CARDINAL POLE.---He began by declaring his intention to recall his Legates and Nuncios from all the King of *Spain*'s dominions, and he mentioned the CARDINAL among the reſt.---The Queen, 15th *May,*
on this intelligence, given her by Sir *Edward* 1557.
Carne *, her Ambaſſador at the Court of *Rome*, ordered him to repreſent to the Pope the general alarm this news had cauſed in her People, and to entreat him to deſiſt from a meaſure which would be ſo prejudicial to a cauſe, of which all motives 14th *June,*
concurred to make him the Protector: the Bi- 1557.
ſhops alſo made the ſame repreſentations.

ON this the Pope declared that, at the Queen's requeſt and for the welfare of the Nation, he would ſtill continue, for ſome years, the Legantine juriſdiction in *England*; but as it would be unbecoming

* Letter of Sir *Edward Carne* to Q. *Mary*, ex Carthophylac. Regiſt. quoted at length by Dr. *Burnet*, Hiſt. Ref. part 2, Col. of Records, pag. 314.

unbecoming the place he was in, and the dignity of the Consistory to name again the same Person Legate, whom a little before they had divested of that character, with a design of calling him, with other absent Cardinals, to *Rome*, on matters of Importance; he judged it more adviseable to create another person who resided in *England*, Cardinal, and add to this dignity the authority of LEGATE; that so he might at once satisfy the Queen and nation and not seem to have lightly varied in his proceedings.—He, therefore, nominated *William Peyto*, of the Order of Saint *Francis*, to the purple, and appointed him Legate in *England*, in the same manner as CARDINAL POLE had been, and transferred on him all the powers the latter had enjoyed *.

THIS declaration was followed by a Decree, addressed to the English Bishops, to the following purpose: "That the Pope had understood from some of them how necessary the authority of a Legate of the holy See was still in that Realm, in order to establish in it the Catholic faith; that he was desirous to convince them of his paternal affection to the Queen, and his care of the welfare and dignity of all the Churches of her Kingdom; but as he had resolved, for weighty reasons, to recall his Legates, and among them, CARDINAL POLE, he could not change his resolution, concerning the latter without departing from the gravity of the Holy See, and altering the decree which was already made, to order him and other absent Cardinals to repair to *Rome*, that they might assist him, the Pope, as their duty required in the discharge of his office.—For these reasons he had created *William Peyto*, whom he had formerly known at *Rome*, Cardinal; that he had thoughts

* Ex Actis Consistorialibus, die Lunæ, xiv *Junii*, cited in the fifth part of CARDINAL POLE's letters, pag. 444.

thoughts of conferring this honour on him, at the beginning of his Pontificate, on account of his probity and zeal for Religion, of which he had given very ſignal proofs both in his own Country and elſewhere; but that his promotion had been very ſeaſonably deferred till the preſent juncture, when, with the general approbation of the ſacred College, he had ſubſtituted him to CARDINAL POLE.—He, therefore, had appointed him Legate, by commiſſion, of *England* and *Ireland*, and ſent him the badges of this dignity, and required of them to receive him in that character, and ſhew him the reſpect and deference it intitled him to."—He deſigned him, likewiſe, for the See of *Saliſbury*, and as ſome of our Writers relate, at the death of Dr. *John Salcot*, named him to it.

Legatus a latere.

20th *June*, 1557.

BY the abovementioned proceeding the CARDINAL was not only deprived of the Legantine office, which he held by commiſſion, but of that alſo, which had always been annexed to the See of *Canterbury*, and which, though inferior to the other, conferred great authority and a very extenſive juriſdiction; thoſe who were inveſted with it being called *Legates by birth*, becauſe they inherit, as it were, that dignity on being named to ſome of the great Metropolitan Sees, among which that of *Canterbury* is very deſervedly a diſtinguiſhed one.

Legatus natus.

THE Queen was informed, by Sir *Edward Carne*, of this ſtep being taken, before any other news of it had reached *England*; even before he, who was ſo perſonally intereſted, had the leaſt intimation of it; and ſhe ſaw the impropriety of the whole affair, and the ſad conſequences which were likely to be the effects of it. *Peyto* was now far advanced in years, and had neither birth, nor abilities, nor a reputation equal to the poſt he was deſigned for, eſpecially after ſuch a predeceſſor;

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and was, moreover, a begging Friar. Each of theſe circumſtances made this meaſure as unſeaſonable as it could poſſibly be in that conjuncture. The Catholic Religion was hardly recalled: there were many and various remains of the late ſchiſm and errors; the manners of the Clergy had not yet regained the reſpect which is due to their character; and the mendicant Orders were ſtill held, by the generality of the People, in contempt. All theſe diſadvantages, which, in the nature of things, excluded *Peyto* from the firſt ſpiritual Juriſdiction in this Country *, were counter-worked in CARDINAL POLE by his Royal extraction, excellent learning, and a ſingular probity and ſanctity of manners. Theſe qualities placed him above all objection, and cauſed even thoſe, who, perhaps, diſliked his attachment to the Church of *Rome*, to honour and admire his perſon.

HER Majeſty, therefore, on intelligence of theſe proceedings, gave orders that no Meſſenger from *Rome* ſhould be permitted to land in *England*, and that all letters and diſpatches from thence ſhould

* *William Peyto* was born of a Gentleman's family of *Cheſterton* in *Warwickſhire*, and had been Confeſſor to Queen *Catharine*, Wife to *Henry* VIII. He oppoſed the Divorce with an intrepidity, of which there is ſcarce any other example: for preaching before the King, when he eagerly purſued this affair, he took for his text the laſt part of the ſtory of *Ahab*, *where the Dogs licked the blood of* Naboth, *even there ſhall the Dogs lick thy blood, O King:* and ſpeaking of the lying Prophets who deceived him, "I, ſays he, addreſſing his diſcourſe to *Henry*, am that *Michajah* whom thou wilt hate, becauſe I muſt tell thee truly, that this marriage is unlawful;" with more to the ſame purpoſe, which may be ſeen in *Stow*'s Annals, under the year 1553.

Several Writers have given a very advantageous account of this zealous and religious perſonage. *Athe. Oxon.* V. 1. Col. 686. hiſtoria minor Prov. Angl. Fratrum Minorum. Mr. *Dod*, Church Hiſt. vol. 1, pag. 480.

ſhould be brought her: She took care alſo, that the whole affair ſhould remain a ſecret to the LEGATE and to *Peyto.* At the ſame time ſhe ſent a Meſſenger to *Rome* with orders to her Ambaſſador to inform the Pope, that his late proceedings were utterly deſtructive of whatever had been done towards recalling the ancient Faith; and, if he perſiſted in them, nothing leſs than the total ruin of that cauſe was to be expected, and the former calamities, or even worſe, to take place: that ſhe could not perſuade herſelf that his Holineſs, if he was acquainted with the ſituation of the Kingdom, would have taken ſo ill-timed a meaſure; and, therefore, entreated him by all that was good and ſacred, to proceed warily in an affair of ſuch conſequence; and called both God and Men to witneſs ſhe was not acceſſory to the Evils which would not fail to enſue, if he perſiſted in his reſolution.

THE Pope, * whoſe prejudices againſt the PRIMATE were as violent as unjuſt, and who ſeemed little ſolicitous about any thing but making him feel the effects of them, told Sir *Edward Carne*, that he had ſome things of importance to diſcuſs with CARDINAL POLE, and, therefore had ſent for him; inſinuating at the ſame time, what he had ſufficiently intimated on other occaſions, that he ſuſpected his orthodoxy, and would know his ſentiments on ſome points, in which Faith was concerned, and confront him with Cardinal *Moron.* This ſuſpicion had been formerly raiſed by the lenity of the CARDINAL's behaviour, towards thoſe who were accuſed of error in his Government of *Viterbo*; and becauſe he obſerved the ſame conduct in *England*, thoſe who were de-

* Cujus erat ingenium elatum, vehemens, acre, et cùm pronum ad ſuſpicionem, tum ubi fides et religio ageretur, præceps ad vindicandum, *Gratiani*, pag. 226.

ſirous he ſhould, at all events, be blameable, ſuppoſed he favoured the tenets of ſuch who had left the Church, becauſe he ſcreened their perſons.

To this the Queen replied, that if the Pope really had any miſtruſt of the LEGATE's faith, it muſt be of very late date, ſince himſelf had beſtowed the moſt ample commendations on him, in full Conſiſtory, when he propoſed him for the See of *Canterbury*; and if he had ſince given occaſion to any ſiniſter opinions, though ſhe could by no means perſuade herſelf that was the caſe, ſhe begged of his Holineſs to inform her of the whole affair; and ſhe would not fail, agreeably to the antient cuſtom and laws of the Realm, to have his cauſe brought before the Biſhops, who, on proper information, ſhould either acquit or condemn him; as it was her intention that neither the intereſts of Religion ſhould ſuffer, nor the innocence of the PRIMATE be oppreſſed.

THESE Negotiations were not carried on ſo ſecretly, but ſomething of them came to the LEGATE's knowledge, and as he conjectured the real fact, that the Queen had intercepted the Pope's orders, by which he was diveſted of the character of LEGATE, he immediately forbade the ſilver Croſs to be borne before him, and quitted any further mark of the Legantine juriſdiction, and abſtained from every other exerciſe of it.—He ſent, alſo, his Chancellor *Ormanet* to *Rome*, * to be fully informed of the Pope's intentions, and to ſignify his own readineſs to comply with them; and to lay before him the ſtate of the Engliſh Nation, and his own grief that the Pope ſhould en-

* *Nicholas Ormanet* had been recommended to the LEGATE, by Pope *Julius* III. as a perſon of great judgment and ſingular ſkill in Eccleſiaſtical affairs. After his Patron's death, he appeared with great credit at the Council of *Trent*; was made Biſhop of *Padua* in 1570, and died ſeven years after.

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tertain any doubts of his doctrine: and how ill suited such suspicions were to all he had hitherto writ and acted, and suffered in defence of the prerogative of the holy See, and of the Catholic Religion.

He was, moreover, to represent the sentiments and discourses of the most considerable Persons, both of the Clergy and Laity, on this affair; who were unanimous, that no measure could be more unseasonable than the abrogation of the Legantine Jurisdiction. After which, the CARDINAL concludes with a declaration suited to the modesty and disinterestedness, which had always distinguished his character; "that, provided this Jurisdiction was still continued in the Kingdom, he did not thing it very material by whom it was exercised; and if the Pope thought proper to ease him of the burden, he would do every good office in his power and shew all respect to the person who was sent in his place *.

The Pope received *Ormanet* with much seeming humanity, and heard him plead his Lord's cause very attentively, which was so clear, and urged in such submissive terms as to mollify the obdurate heart of *Paul* IV. But while the Chancellor was at *Rome*, the news arrived of the defeat of the French army at St. *Quintin*'s, in which the High Constable and chief of their Nobility were either killed or taken Prisoners. The honour of the day was chiefly owing to the valour of the English troops, commanded by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and to the personal bravery of Lord *Montacute*, the Lieutenant General. This overthrow caused *Henry* II. to recall the troops he had sent to the Pope's assistance, a few excepted, which were left for the guard of his Person, and the same ill success attended the Pontiff's forces,

10th *Aug.* 1557.

Sir *Ant. Browne.*

* *R. Poli*, Epist. pars 5a, pag. 27.

which were routed, about this time, by the *Spaniards*, at *Signia* in *Campania*.

The Pope diſſembled his reſentment againſt *Philip*, which this defeat had increaſed, and againſt the Cardinal, which was no leſs inveterate †. He went even ſo far, as *Ormanet* afterwards told his Hiſtorian, *Beccatelli*, as to clear him from all ſuſpicion of heterodox opinions, and to ſay, ſuch rumours were ſpread by malice and envy, which as they had not ſpared the moſt innocent Author of Chriſtianity, it was no matter of ſurprize if they attacked his Followers. He continued this ambiguous behaviour with *Ormanet* till he had concluded a peace with *Philip*, and then diſmiſſed the Legate's Chancellor, telling him, he would ſend Cardinal *Caraffa*, his brother's ſon, to *Flanders*, in order to conclude with the King and the Cardinal every thing that was yet in debate.

Sept. 14th.

Resistance and diſappointment had always the effect on *Paul* IV. which the banks have on the billows of the Sea: it cauſed him to meet them with redoubled violence *. His late loſſes therefore only made him diſſemble the real ſentiments he had long cheriſhed againſt the Legate, to whoſe counſels his ill humour made him impute the Engliſh ſuccours which were ſent to *Philip* and the defeat of his Ally †. Thus whilſt he made declarations to *Ormanet* in the Legate's favour, he ſignified, as has been ſaid, by equivocal diſcourſes, a diffidence in the ſoundneſs of his doctrine, and ſuffered proceedings to be carried on

† Hoc ipſo tempore duplicem de re malè geſtâ nuncium acceperat. iracundiam cùm in *Philippum*, tum etiam in *Polum* multo antè conceptam diſſimulavit. *Poli* vita, pag. 36.

* Immoderata animi indomiti ac imperioſi vis, et juris ſui nimio plus retinentis. *Gratiani* de caſibus illus. Vir.

† Id adeo odium intendebat ipſe quoque *Paulus*, cujus vim animi atque inſitam ingenio ferociam non tam ſedaverat parta pax, quàm improſpera belli aſperaverant. *Gratiani*, ubi ſupra, p. 333.

againſt him which neceſſarily inferred that ſuppoſition.

Not content to ſhew his malevolence to the Engliſh CARDINAL, he wreaked it, in a very unbecoming manner, on the deareſt of his friends, the Lord *Priuli*, who, as we have ſeen, had followed all his fortunes ever ſince their acquaintance at the Univerſity of *Padua:* for this Nobleman having been nominated at the requeſt of the Republic of *Venice*, to ſucceed to the Biſhoprick of *Breſcia*, which is one of the moſt conſiderable in *Italy*; and it being at this time vacated, the Pope refuſed to ratify the grant which was made by his Predeceſſor. The LEGATE took this occaſion to write to his Holineſs of this injuſtice done to his Friend, and made uſe of it as an introduction to the ſubjects of complaint which regarded himſelf.

"I HAD heard, ſome time ago, moſt holy Father, ſays he, writing to the Pope, that your Holineſs had annulled the reverſionary grant of the Biſhoprick of *Breſcia*, which your Predeceſſor *Julius* III. at the entreaty of the State of *Venice*, conferred on *Aloyſius Priuli*, without one ſtep taken on his part to obtain it. But as I am now informed of the death of Cardinal *Durante*, the late occupier of that See, I thought it my duty to preſent to your Holineſs a petition in favour of ſuch a Friend, which I never did for myſelf, to any of your Predeceſſors, and to beg of you, that what is already fallen to him by right of reverſion, may be confirmed in conſideration of his merit, and becauſe he has, many years, been looked on as the Succeſſor to that Biſhoprick, to the great and general ſatisfaction of the Inhabitants. No one is better acquainted than myſelf, from a long and unreſerved intimacy, with his learning, probity and religion, which are truly becoming the dignity he is called to. I have ever remarked in

him, besides other virtues becoming this station, an uncommon love of God and Mankind, and a contempt of whatever, in the false estimate of the World, is chiefly sought after and valued. Besides other instances of this generosity of mind, he has given this illustrious one, that whereas he was descended of one of the noblest families of his Country, and saw the road to honours and preferments open to him, he made no account of these advantages, but accompanied me, above twenty years, in banishment and the greatest dangers, was partaker of all I suffered, and lived with me in such manner as not to give the least suspicion of ambition or the love of lucre.

"I PLEAD his cause with your Holiness with so much less reserve, as I am conscious that I have no other view but the service of my Maker and the utility of a large Province; for, as to myself, if you pay a regard to the desire of the People of *Brescia*, to the request of the *Venetians*, and to my petition, I foresee it must be attended with the loss of the society of a Friend, on which, for many reasons, I set the highest value.

"BUT, perhaps, you may ask, who I am, who presume to give such an evidence in favour of one who is impeached by the Inquisitors? to which I answer, that I am the person, who from a long and intimate acquaintance with the party concerned, ought to be credited preferably to all others: I, who of all People, have cause to be at enmity with Hereticks, having never suffered any one calamity of the many which have fallen to my share, of which they were not the Authors, and for the Catholic Religion only.

"BUT it may be replied, in case I myself am impeached of the same crime, of what weight can my evidence be? and the answer is ready, that I ought to be so much more credited than my Accusers, as the conspicuous actions I have perform-

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-ed in the caufe of Religion fhould outweigh their difcourfes who dare not produce either words or facts againft me, becaufe they are at a lofs for either.

"IF it be further urged that I am not only impeached, but found guilty; I well underftand what this means; and was informed of it, for the firft time, when Cardinal *Moron*, whom every one knows to be my particular friend, on the like fufpicions, was taken into cuftody; and afterwards, when I was given to conjecture my own cafe, by being deprived of the Legantine jurifdiction.

"WHAT, therefore fhall I fay? in the firft place, that I ought to lay a greater ftrefs on your own declaration, than on any appearances, and the reports of others. By this you fignified to the Englifh Ambaffador, and to the Meffengers I fent to *Rome*, that, whatever you had done in this affair had not proceeded from any offence taken at me; but, as your Holinefs and the King of *England* were at war, and you had recalled your Legates from his other Dominions, you did not think proper to exempt this Realm from the general regulation; and as you were pleafed to affign this reafon for abrogating my authority, though the cafe of this nation be different from that of any other, I did not prefume to interpret your orders in any other fenfe, than that in which yourfelf was pleafed to explain them.

"A SHORT time after, when on your reconciliation with the King, your Legates were fent to his other Dominions, and Cardinal *Caraffa* your brother's fon to his Majefty, though the Englifh Ambaffador entreated you to reftore me to my Legantine functions, on the part of the Queen, the Bifhops and both Houfes of Parliament, and delivered her Majefty's Letters on this fubject; your Holinefs would not come to any explicit declaration, and,

at length, as I am informed, have ſuffered a report to prevail, that I am found guilty and condemned.

"How am I here to interpret your Holineſs's mind? am I conclude you ſignified it to the Ambaſſador, when, on his preſſing the affair, you anſwered, it belonged to a higher Court? for when you declared yourſelf in this manner, without granting what he aſked, you ſeemed to ſay, that you acted in compliance with what piety and your duty to the ſupreme Being required of you.

"Does Almighty God, therefore, require that a Parent ſhould ſlay his child? Once, indeed, he gave this precept, when he commanded *Abraham* to offer in ſacrifice his ſon *Iſaac*, whom he tenderly loved, and through whom all the promiſes made to the Father were to be accompliſhed. And what are now the preparations your Holineſs is making, but ſo many fore-runners of the ſacrifice of my better life; that is, of my reputation? for, in how wretched a ſenſe muſt that Paſtor be ſaid to live, who has loſt with his Flock the credit of an upright belief? And that this is the death you have reſerved for me, I ſee much more clearly than the Son of the Patriarch ſeemed to underſtand his Father's deſign, when perceiving every thing prepared for the Whole-burnt-offering, but the Victim, he aſked where that was? But I, who ſee the fire and the ſword in your hands, and all the other preparations made, inſtead of aſking where the Victim is, ſhould put this queſtion to you, why you permit yourſelf to be deceived by groundleſs ſuſpicions, and are ready, on a falſe appearance of Religion, to put to death a Son, whom you once loved? I am not conſcious of any thing that could have cauſed a change in your affection; but of many which ſhould endear me more to you, having at length, through God's grace, accompliſhed the work, to the joy of the whole Church and the honour

honour of the Holy See, which you always ſeemed to hope from me.

"Is this ſword of anguiſh, with which you are about to pierce my ſoul, the return I am to receive for all theſe ſervices? If you act, indeed, in this manner that you may ſatisfy what you owe to duty, all I ſhall ſay is, may God accept the ſacrifice. Yet ſtill I truſt he will no more permit you to proceed than he did the Patriarch to kill his Son.

"THIS whole tranſaction recalls to my remembrance that in my younger years, when I received the Cardinalate, and as the cuſtom is, lay proſtrate before the Altar, I ſaid to the Pope who conferred the dignity on me, that I delivered myſelf as a Victim to him; but I little imagined I ſhould be put to this trial, a ſecond time; eſpecially as the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* had been ſubſtituted in my place, as the Ram, whoſe horns were entangled in the brambles, was in that of *Iſaac*, and died without metaphor.

"I CANNOT, however, but hope that the ſame Power which on this occaſion, withheld the Patriarch's arm, will, when the ſeaſonable time comes, exert itſelf alſo in my defence; nor in mine alone, but in that of Cardinal *Moron* * and *Priuli*; for your Holineſs's hand is lifted up againſt us all.

"YOU muſt allow me, holy Father, to purſue the alluſion by which I have preſumed to repreſent my own caſe; and to ſay I now ſee not one Meſſenger, as in the caſe of *Iſaac*, but many, who

* This excellent Perſon was confined by the Pope's orders, in the Priſon of the Inquiſition, on a groundleſs ſurmiſe of keeping a correſpondence with the German Lutherans. He had no difficulty to clear himſelf, and the Pope let him know, he might go out of priſon. This he refuſed, unleſs he had juſtice done in a public manner, which was the reaſon that this affair was not ended till the following Pontificate.

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withhold your hand, armed with depositions, as with a destroying weapon, against me. *Philip* and *Mary*, Catholick Princes and Defenders of the Faith: several Persons of eminent worth interpose themselves in my favour. But in this cause, neither I, nor my friends who lie under the same accusations, seek the aid even of such Protectors to approve and defend our innocence; and we hold the same language to your Holiness which *Moses* did to the Almighty, who promised him the guidance of a celestial Spirit to protect him and his People against their Enemies, and lead them into the promised land, *Unless you, yourself go before us, do not bring us out of this place*; Unless your Holiness be our Advocate against our Slanderers and extricate us from these difficulties, we ask no foreign assistance: for if you are not pleased to do us this justice, the adverse Party is too powerful to be overcome by any other succour.

"I AM already informed by what steps the enemy begins to triumph in this Realm, especially with respect to those proceedings which have been carried on against myself. For whereas I had gathered together my scattered flock chiefly by my own invariable adherence to that faith which I exhorted them to embrace; as soon as it was rumoured that my rectitude in that belief was questioned, the Enemies of that cause thought they had by this means, an opportunity of calling off the Sheep to a greater distance from the voice of the Shepherd. Your Holiness alone can defeat this purpose: as to the assaults which are made on us, although the justice of our cause ought, at your Tribunal, to be an over-match for all slander, and secure the People committed to our care, from danger, we desire to refer the victory to the goodness of the Supreme Being, and, under that, to yourself.

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"The ſum therefore, holy Father, of my petition is, that you, who repreſent on earth the perſon of our Lord and Redeemer, would likewiſe imitate the manner, in which he treats thoſe whom he loves; and as He, ſometimes, *leads them into the depth of diſtreſs*, that he may make trial of their fidelity, and, having found them worthy of himſelf, *brings them back to the day of peace and ſerenity*, you would do the ſame by us. No extremity can be greater than that in which we are already caſt, when you ſuffer the Belief of thoſe who are entruſted with the care of others to be ſuſpected. Whatever, therefore, may have been the cauſes of this proceeding, you cannot fail of acting a part becoming your high ſtation, if, when the affair is cleared up, and our innocence proved, you *bring us back*, as the Prophet expreſſes himſelf, *to the regions of light and comfort*; in which you will, at the ſame time, conſult the honour of the Holy See and your own, and maintain our reputation and that of the ſacred College. That your Holineſs may act in this manner we will not ceaſe to pray to the Almighty, and for your preſervation and happineſs*."

Greenwich, 30th *March* 1558.

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* *R. Poli*, Epiſt. pars 5a, p. 31.

There is ſomething too uncommon in this Pope's character not to give the Reader the entertainment, and, if he pleaſes, the inſtruction of it; as nothing can repreſent in a more ſtriking light the waſte which a Ruling Paſſion may make in the greateſt minds, and not only blaſt all their good qualities, but render them deſtructive. It will, likewiſe, throw a great light on what has been ſaid of this Pontiff's malevolence to the Engliſh Cardinal, which ſeems in great meaſure, to have been founded in this Paſſion, and in the total oppoſition of diſpoſitions, which were cauſed by it.

Paul IV. was deſcended, as has been ſaid, from the *Caraffa* family in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and was born in 1476. His education was ſuited to the nobility of his extraction, and he not only excelled in ſacred literature, but ever preſerved a reputation clear from the leaſt ſuſpicion of vice. He was initiated in Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline under the care of Cardinal *Oliver Caraffa*, his Uncle, a perſon of merit,

rit,

I HAVE given the Reader this letter at length, as a proof of the LEGATE's friendſhip having been proof to all trials; and as it ſhews his concern for the Public; and the decent freedom which

rit, with whom he paſſed ſome years of his youth at *Rome*. On the death of this Nobleman, he went to *Spain*, where *Ferdinand*, on account of his uncommon probity, honoured him with his friendſhip, and made him one of the Council of State. He continued in the ſame poſt under *Charles* V. though not in on equal degree of honour and confidence; for *Charles*, who was a young man, did not make the ſame account of that rigid virtue which had been ſo highly valued by his Grandfather; for this reaſon, he immediately obeyed *Adrian* IV. who invited him to *Rome*; but this Pope dying ſoon after, and *Caraffa* being diſpleaſed at the licentiouſneſs of thoſe times, he reſigned the Archbiſhoprick of *Theatea* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which *Julius* II. *Adrian*'s ſucceſſor, on account of his rare merit, had conferred on him, and entered the order of *Regular Clerks* lately founded, who from the City of which he had been Biſhop, were called *Theatins*. He lived ſeveral years with his new Aſſociates, at *Venice*, in ſuch a manner as to riſe in the reputation he had before attained; for which *Paul* III. in 1533, called him to *Rome*, and, againſt his will, created him Cardinal.

IN this poſt he continued the ſame courſe of life he had hitherto held, and, during twenty years, was a Pattern of a blameleſs Prelate and an upright Counſellor. His vote was ſo little ſubſervient to party or the private inclinations of the Popes, that he reſiſted *Paul* III. though he had made him Cardinal, with great conſtancy; and being requeſted by *Julius* III. to conſent to his Brother's adopted ſon being honoured with the purple, he excuſed himſelf, by a note, from coming to the Conſiſtory, where the affair was to be carried, or voting for it, or having any concern in it. The ſame liberty of ſpeech and ſentiment appeared on all other occaſions: he maintained with vigour the authority of the Holy See, the dignity of the Prieſthood, and the integrity of the Chriſtian Religion, and when encroachments were made on them, he placed himſelf in the breach. On *Julius*'s death he gave a great ſpecimen of generoſity in promoting the election of *Marcellus* II. though four and twenty years younger than himſelf; which added ſuch eminence to his former character, that, on this Pope's death, which happened a few days after, he was choſen to ſucceed him.

BUT theſe great qualities were vitiated by a fierce and obſtinate temper, a haughty and aſpiring diſpoſition, and a mind incapable of yielding to oppoſition, and greedy above meaſure

which he ufed with his Superiors; and, above all the reft, that perpetual attention to the caufe of virtue and religion, by which he regulated, and to which he referred every thing elfe.

THE

meafure of command. " Cæterùm his tot virtutibus inerat ingenium ferox et pervicax, et elatus animus vaftufque, et adverfanti nefciens cedere, prorfufque imperii nimius." *Gratiani, de cas. Vir illus.* pag. 316. This gave rife to the perpetual enmity between him and *Charles* V. and his Son *Philip*, which was inflamed by the fraud and felfifh views of thofe who had his confidence, and, at length, broke out into open war. Befides an inclination to the French faction at *Naples*, which the *Caraffa* family had always difcovered, the Pope had contracted an averfion to *Charles*, whilft he was at the Court of *Spain*. When the French army was cut off at the Siege of *Naples*, his Family had fuffered every kind of hardfhip from the victorious *Spaniards*. The Pope himfelf, when he was Archbifhop of *Theatea*, had been excluded, without any fufficient caufe, from the Council of State; and, afterwards, when *Paul* III. nominated him to the See of *Naples*, he was a long time kept out of poffeffion. After the death of this Pontiff, the whole weight of Spanifh influence was employed to hinder him of the Popedom, and the fame practifed again at the deceafe of *Julius*. At length, in oppofition to all their efforts, he was raifed to that fupreme dignity in an extreme old age, being in his eightieth year, and for that reafon alone lefs formidable to his Adverfaries.

THE *Spaniards* could not but fufpect a perfon, to whom they had done fo many ill fervices, and who, before his elevation, had given fuch figns of his difpofitions towards them, as were by no means equivocal. He had accufed the Emperor in public Confiftory of favouring the Lutheran Herefy from political views; and though, when there was occafion, he had treated the French with the fame freedom, yet the Spaniards highly refented this fpeech; and when *Charles*'s Ambaffador complained of the affront offered their Mafter, he was fo far from making an Apology, that his anfwer was more exafperating than his firft difcourfe. I have already fpoke of his defign to drive the Spaniards out of *Naples*. When *Charles* V. refigned the Empire to his Brother, he refufed to ratify the ceffion, as being made without his confent, which thofe who were fkilled in the Pontifical and Imperial Laws afferted to have been neceffary: And when *Ferdinand*'s Ambaffadors came to pay him the accuftomed homage, he obftinately refufed to receive them, or to confirm his title.

HE

The end propofed by the foregoing letter was of too much importance not to deferve that every meafure fhould be made ufe of, by which it might be gained. The LEGATE, therefore, wrote at the

He was no fooner made Pope but the mutual animofities he and the Court of *Madrid* had long entertained, began to declare themfelves. The Spanifh Ambaffador, who had been often refufed Audience, prefenting himfelf abruptly to the Pope whilft he was at table. He commanded him to depart his prefence, and if he did not, the title of *Philip*'s Ambaffador fhould avail him little. Being reduced to the greateft extremities after the battle of St. *Quintin*'s, and almoft a Prifoner in *Rome* itfelf, he was obliged to make peace: yet even then, vanquifhed as he was, he exerted the fame fpirit he had always fhewn, and feemed to give, rather than accept, the conditions of agreement; one of which was, that the Duke of *Alva*, who commanded the Spanifh army, and had plundered the Pope's territories and laid fiege to his Capital, fhould prefent himfelf before him in the pofture of a fuppliant and afk pardon on his knees.

His mind feemed rather exulcerated with the bad fuccefs of the war than foothed with its conclufion. When he was yet Cardinal, as *Luther*'s errors had not only overfpread *Germany*, but threatened *Italy*, he had prevailed on *Paul* III. to fet up the Inquifition at *Rome*, and himfelf was placed at the head of it. He exercifed this office with a feverity which raifed complaints, to which he paid little regard, and was never known to have fhewn any favour, by whomfoever afked. A melancholy inftance of the abufe to which this Tribunal is liable, increafed the public uneafinefs and averfion to it. One of thofe who are employed to bring in informations, had endeavoured to afperfe the greateft and beft men in *Rome*, and had not fpared the moft eminent members of the facred College. His villainy, indeed, was at laft detected, and ended in his own deftruction, (*R. Poli*, Epift. pars 4a, pag. 101.) And now, fince *Paul*'s Pontificate, the prifons were every day crowded with unhappy wretches, of all forts, and a general hatred of the prefent adminiftration, and a fear of ftill greater evils took up every one's mind.

But nothing inflamed the public indignation fo much as the arrogance and profligacy of his Brother's fons; the eldeft of whom, *Charles Caraffa*, when he was Cardinal, on account of his diforders, he had forbid his fight. But being raifed to the Papacy, the Nephew, by an artful hypocrify, had fo infinuated himfelf into his Uncle's good graces, that he often faid to his Friends, he was thankful to Heaven for this fignal reformation in fo near a Relation: In confequence of

the ſame time and on the ſubject to the Cardinal of *Trani*, who, by the letter ſeems to have had a great ſhare in the Pope's confidence, and having laid before him the difficulties under which the

public

of this good opinion, he made him his chief Miniſter and created him Cardinal, though he had always lived in the licentiouſneſs of camps, and had not one quality either of a Clergyman, a Chriſtian, or a man of probity. He enriched, alſo *John*, the ſecond Brother, with the Dutchy of *Paliano* and other eſtates, which were confiſcated from the *Colonna* family, for having ſided with the Spaniards; and gave *Anthony* his third Nephew, the territories which were taken from the Count of *Balneo*, on a like ſubject. Theſe three Brothers, though diſſimilar in their vices, were equally the object of univerſal hatred, and though they diſagreed in other reſpects, they obſerved an inviolable concord in keeping each others diſorders ſecret from their Uncle, and not ſuffering any perſon to approach him, from whom they ran any riſk of being diſcovered. Thus, while he was making laws and curbing public vice, he was a perfect ſtranger to what was going forward within his Palace and in his own family, which cauſed his own virtues and their faults to be equally odious.

When the latter had exceeded all bounds, One, whoſe name has been concealed, had the courage to inform the Pope of them; and as the evidence was given ſo as to deſerve credit, the Pope heard it with a ſuitable indignation; and it being late in the evening, he only then gave orders that none of his Relations ſhould be admitted into his preſence, and that the ſacred College ſhould meet the next day. Here, he reproached the Fathers with not informing him of what ſo nearly concerned the public good and his own reputation; though having been ſo wickedly betrayed by his own family, he ſaid, he ought to pardon the ſilence of ſtrangers. He then inveighed with great bitterneſs againſt the Guilty, and deprived Cardinal *Caraffa* of the government of *Bologna*, and all public charges; and *John* the ſecond Brother, of the military command over the Papal forces throughout the whole Eccleſiaſtical ſtate; and *Anthony*, the third, of the guard of the Palace; and commanded them, and all his other Relations, except Cardinal *Alfonſus*, ſon of *Anthony Caraffa*, a young man univerſally eſteemed, to leave *Rome* before night, and aſſigned to his Nephews the places of their baniſhment. The vehemence of his temper made him threaten with the ſevereſt treatment thoſe who aſſiſted them in any manner whatſoever; adding, they de-

ſerved

public cauſe and his own reputation laboured, deſires his intereſt in order to remove them. "I have written, ſays he, to the Pope on a ſubject, of which your Lordſhip may inform yourſelf by the

ſerved a much more rigorous chaſtiſement, which, by a denunciation that was fully verified, he ſaid, he had reſerved for his ſucceſſor. He was endowed with great eaſe and gravity in ſpeaking, and, when he was angry, his look alone was terrible. The two following inſtances are ſufficient to ſhew the terror he ſtruck in his Hearers on this occaſion, and in all who were informed of what had paſſed. A Niece of the Pope came to *Rome*, that very day, having heard nothing of the diſgrace of her family, and being excluded the Palace, and not received by the Nobility, could not get admittance into any of the public Inns, but was obliged to take up with the wretched entertainment of a lodging in the Suburbs. And Cardinal *Caraffa*, who was grievouſly ſick at *Marino*, the place of his baniſhment, having ſent to *Rome* for the help of Phyſicians, none durſt attend him, or even mention his caſe to the Pope. After this ſignal act of juſtice, he took off the taxes and other burdens which, without his knowledge, the Brothers had laid on the People, and deprived all who had been promoted by them of their Poſts. He ſurvived theſe Reformations only five months, and being near his end, he prepared himſelf for it with great attention, and received all the ſacred Rites with a ſingular ſenſe of Religion: After which, the Cardinals being admitted to give him the laſt marks of their duty, he exhorted them as they ſtood round his bed, to chuſe a perſon to ſucceed him, whom they judged worthy that ſupreme poſt, and who was beſt qualified to recall the decayed diſcipline of Chriſtianity to its primitive vigour. The ſeverity to which he had long inured his mind, did not leave him in his lateſt moments, and having collected all his ſtrength to make a panegyrick on the
Sept. 15th 1559. Inquiſition, which he judged neceſſary in thoſe circumſtances, he expired.

HIS death was no ſooner conjectured rather than known, but the joy it cauſed was ſo univerſal, that the People of *Rome* left off all buſineſs and met in the Capitol. Here, their hatred being now no longer under any reſtraint, they immediately came to a reſolution, that all ſtatues and monuments of the late Pope and his Family ſhould be effaced: and being now in the firſt tranſports with which the novelty of freedom, and rage and revenge intoxicate the multitude, they made an onſet on that ſtatue which themſelves had erected at the beginning of the Pontificate, at their own expence,

the copy of the letter I ſend you; but becauſe I have always known you very zealous for his Holineſs's honour, and very equitable to myſelf, it is proper I ſhould give you a more diſtinct information of it. The caſe, indeed, ſeems to require a Mediator of this character, to bring it to ſuch an iſſue as the public utility ſtands in need of; though to be plain, nothing leſs than the hand of God can cauſe the ſcandals to ceaſe, which are already cauſed in part, and others with which the Nation is ſtill threatened. I have informed his Holineſs, that I am by no means at a loſs to clear myſelf, could this juſtification ſuppreſs the offence which the Engliſh Church has taken at the late proceed-

pence, and having pulled it from the pedeſtal, and broke it to pieces, they rolled the head about the ſtreets, and dragged it through the kennels, with every kind of inſult and mockery, till ſome perſons more conſiderate than the reſt, being ſhocked with the indignity of ſuch a ſight, threw it into the Tyber. The next object of their fury were the priſons, which they broke open and releaſed the Criminals; and coming to that of the Inquiſition, where ſome Hereticks, or Perſons accuſed of being ſo, were detained, they ſet them at liberty. But in this latter proceeding, a regularity was obſerved, which is ſeldom the attendant of popular tumults; for the People, to ſhew they acted not on any diſregard to Religion, but from hatred to the late Pontiff, exacted of every one they ſet free an oath to adhere, for the future, to the Church of *Rome*, and ſubmit to her authority. I ſhall finiſh what I had to ſay on this ſubject, by an inſtance of the dread which the bare idea of *Paul* IV. had left on the minds of his Subjects: In the height of theſe Bacchanalian riots a rumour was ſpread, that the Pope was yet alive and in a fair way of recovery: on this, every thing was immediately quieted, and the only concern of each one was to ſcreen and ſave himſelf.

If the Reader deſires to be informed in a greater detail of this Pope's character, and the fate of his three Nephews, he may find it in *Gratiani*, Biſhop of *Amelia*, a Cotemporary Writer, in his treatiſe *de Caſibus illuſtrium virorum*, under the title, *de Carolo Caraffa Cardinale, et Joanne Paliani Duce, Fratribus*, related with a freedom and eloquence equal to any part of the Greek or Roman Hiſtory. *Folicta, Caſtaldi*, and others have alſo wrote this Pope's life.

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ings: this, which I have more at heart than any other consideration, causes my solicitude; for having in great measure prevailed on my Country to embrace the doctrine they had forsaken, by my own constancy in it, what must they think, if they continue to hear that I am suspected on this head by the chief Bishop himself? For though his Holiness, for any thing I know to the contrary, has not yet openly declared himself, yet while he acts in this manner, and suffers legal procedures to be carried on, which easily persuade others that these are his sentiments, you cannot but see, my Lord, how fatal a stumbling-block this must be, and in whose power it is to remove it. But of this I shall say no more, but wait his Holiness's decision. In the mean time, as there are not wanting many persons of integrity who blame me much for being silent, when the welfare of my Country is at stake, I defend myself by the example of that holy man *Basil*, whose piety and learning have deservedly gained him the surname of *Great*, and in whose works your Lordship is remarkably conversant. When envious and ill-designing persons had spread slanders concerning his orthodoxy, and his Friends were earnest with him to write something in his own defence; he made this reply, that if his past conduct did not satisfy his brethren of the rectitude of his sentiments, he had nothing further to alledge: for how can I expect, says he, that a short treatise will prevail on those, whom the evidence of so much experience has not persuaded? Whether I have a right to make use of the same form of speech, you, my Lord, who are acquainted with a great part of my life, may determine.

"I HAVE, hitherto, by my own choice, imitated the forbearance of this holy man, but whether I am to imitate him in writing and defending myself, depends on his Holiness; for the same great

great Doctor, when he had been ſilent for a time, and, at laſt, thought himſelf obliged to ſhut the mouth of ſlander, writes in this manner; "as yet, I have held my peace, but ſhall I always do ſo, and give occaſion to have my ſilence brought an evidence againſt me? Nor can I think any other behaviour will become me, eſpecially as the inferences drawn from my not ſpeaking in ſuch a cauſe will be more to my diſadvantage than any thing my Accuſers can object to me. But whether I am to purſue this method or not, depends, as I have ſaid, wholly on the Pope, who, by his authority, may ſilence ſlander, and to the great comfort, of all good men, put an end to ſcandals.

"If I ſtand in particular need of comfort, and expect it from his Holineſs, no leſs than St. *Auſtin*, the Apoſtle of *England*, from St. *Gregory*; I am conſcious to myſelf of a like diligence and good will in procuring the emolument of the Chriſtian Cauſe in this Kingdom, which St. *Auſtin* exerted; and I exert it in more difficult circumſtances, as I every day experience that it is a work leſs laborious to inform untaught minds, than to unteach thoſe who have imbibed erroneous doctrines. But enough on this ſubject: all that remains is, that we join in our common petitions to the Almighty, that he would be pleaſed to diſpoſe all things for the advantage of his Church, the reputation of the Holy See, and the honour of the ſacred College, of which I am a member." *Greenwich* 30th *March* 1558.

This is the laſt mention we find of this affair: whether the Pope's anger was appeaſed at ſo reaſonable a remonſtrance, and innocence pleaded with ſo much temper; or whether the Queen's authority, the circumſtances of the Engliſh nation, and the ſhort time the Legate ſurvived, hindered any further proſecution, is uncertain. The Cardinal continued to exerciſe his Legantine juriſdiction, and one of his Hiſtorians ſays, the

Pope put off the final decision of the cause; another, that he dissembled his resentment *. But whatever were the Pontiff's views, the LEGATE's Christian simplicity and moderation, at such a crisis, have few examples. The establishment of the Catholic Religion and his own reputation in so nice a point were not able to make him swerve in any single instance from the deference he owed to superior Power, though it pursued his innocence, dignity and merit, with repeated acts of enmity. He had wrote a treatise in his own justification, but looking over the performance, says the Writer of his life, and perceiving it would be unfavourable to the Pope's reputation, he threw it into the fire, and repeated those words of Deuteronomy, *non revelabis verenda Patris tui.*

IT may seem something extraordinary that a person of the Bishop of *Amelia*'s discernment, should pass the following judgment on the facts I have related; " that the CARDINAL's impeachment, and the repeal of the Legantine jurisdiction, though it lessened nothing of his power and authority in *England*, yet it seems to have impaired something of his dignity and fame, and to cast a certain shade round that glory he had before attained †." But, sure, whoever considers the injustice of his sufferings, and his behaviour under them, must confess they set his character in a more illustrious light than the most uninterrupted

* Pontifex Reginæ literis precibusque et POLI satisfactione acceptis, non quidem eum absolvit, sed Britannicarum rerum, ac *Mariæ* gratiâ, causæ cognitionem distulit. *Gratiani*, p. 227.

Iracundiam multo antè conceptam dissimulavit. *Poli* vita, fol. 36. à tergo.

† Cæterum, hæc et nominis delatio, et ablatæ Legationis nota, ut potentiam POLO nihil imminuit, ita dignitatem famamque apud suos non nihil labefactâsse, et magnitudini et gloriæ ejus nescio quid nubis obduxisse visa est. *Gratiani*, de casibus Virorum illustrium, pag. 227.

felicity

felicity could have done, and gave him an opportunity of exerting the rareſt and moſt difficult virtues, thoſe which are tried by adverſity.

THE Emperor *Charles* V. died about the time I am ſpeaking of, and the various connexions he had with CARDINAL POLE, ever ſince he was engaged in public life, which we have ſeen through this work, require that ſomething ſhould be ſaid of him in this place. He had already left a world, which he had never ſuffered to be at reſt, nor enjoyed tranquillity in it, till he reſigned his ſtates to a Son ſtill more deſigning, though leſs active than himſelf. He was maſter of thoſe qualities, on which the vanity of Mankind has been pleaſed to raiſe greatneſs of character in Sovereigns: and may juſtly be placed amongſt thoſe, of whom one, who was qualified to make ſuch an eſtimate, ſays, *the eyes of a Fool are on the extremities of the earth* *: for he informed the ſtates of *Burgundy* aſſembled at the ceremony of his abdication, that ſince the ſeventeenth year of his age, he had made nine expeditions into *Germany*; ſix into *Spain*; ſeven into *Italy*; four into *France*; ten into the *Netherlands*; two into *England*; as many into *Africa*; and had croſſed the Sea eleven times †. After which reſtleſs agitation, in which he equally verified in his own perſon, a compariſon of another Author, as little favourable to the ſenſeleſs projects of Ambition as him I have quoted, that *a Fool's heart is like the Wheel of a Wain, which is always in motion*; he finiſhed his days in a Monaſtery ſituated in the delightful plains of *Eſtramadura*.

21ſt *Sept.* 1558.

Prov. ch. 17. v. 24.

Eccleſiaſ. ch. 33. v. 5.

A WRITER of great repute ſuppoſes he was guided in this extraordinary ſtep by the example of ſeveral great Perſonages of Royal rank, at the

* Oculi ſtulti in finibus terræ. Edit. Vulg.

† Strada, de bello belgico, Decadis 1ae. L. 1, pag. 7.

head of whom he places *Dioclesian*, "the best of Princes, says he, if we set aside the wrongs which the prejudices of Paganism caused him to do the Christians. This Prince having governed the Empire twenty years with the most consummate virtue and prudence, resigned it, and led a private life at *Spalatro* in *Dalmatia*; in which retreat the culture of his gardens was his chief satisfaction.*"

THE Reader may perceive the Author dwells with a particular complacence on the subject of this Emperor; for though he mentions other Princes, who had likewise retired from the administration of public affairs, he only gives the Reader a list of their names, except of one French King; and is so wild as to suppose that *Charles* V. in his retreat, was chiefly influenced by the example of *Dioclesian*. I don't chuse to assign the cause of a turn of mind, which makes men in all other respects capable of forming the most correct judgment of Persons and Actions, then only fall into perverseness and folly, when it depreciates the Christian cause, and sets off to advantage her most declared enemies. Of this, *Thuanus* has here given a memorable instance: for *this best of Emperors* is represented both by Christian and Pagan Writers, some of whom were his Cotemporaries, as having exhausted the Roman Provinces by taxes, and being given to a destructive extravagance in building, and extreme vanity in his dress; of rapaciousness and the most sordid avarice; of cruelty and an impious arrogance,

* Nec deerant Exempla atque imprimis *Diocletiani*, longè optimi Imperatoris, si ea excipias, quæ ille Gentilium errore deceptus, in Christianos peccavit: qui post administratum virtute summâ ac prudentiâ totos xx annos imperium, eo se abdicavit, anno Christi 308, et *Saloniæ* in *Dalmatiâ* vitam hortorum culturâ delectans, privatus transegit. His et aliis exemplis confirmatus *Cæsar*, &c. *Thuanus*, Lib. 16. pag. 506. D.

which

which went ſo far as to cauſe himſelf to be treated as a God: not to ſay any thing of the wrongs he did to the whole body of the Chriſtians, and the numbers he put to death, and ſome, by the moſt exquiſite torments.

THESE Authors accuſe him alſo of having multiplied the Provinces of the Empire, not by the conqueſt of new, but by a diviſion of the ancient; and, by this means to have burdened the ſtate with an incredible addition of Civil and Military employments; and to have weakened the ſtrength of *Rome* by reducing the Militia, and expoſed the Empire to danger *.

A VERY fine Genius and Judge of human nature ſeems to have looked on this retreat of *Charles* V. as the effect of a reſtleſs temper, rather than the reſult of a mind weaned from the world and fixed on the love and attainment of a better; and introduces him as much taken up, in the ſolitude of St. *Juſt*, with his Son's projects as he had formerly been with his own †: Another Writer, who is very partial to him, and to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, deſcribes his amuſements in his retirement as fitter to divert a ſchool-boy, than to dignify the retreat of a great Prince. It is true, he ſays, he left them off in great meaſure before he died ‡, and the general tenour of the laſt part of his life deſerves our praiſe, and, perhaps, our admiration.

THE death of the Queen of *England* happened ſoon after that of the Emperor. She was fallen into a declining ſtate of health, which proceeded from uneaſineſs of mind no leſs than a bad habit of body. Her Phyſicians had miſtaken a dropſy for the ſymptoms of Pregnancy, and brought on the diſorder inſtead of removing it. The victory

* *Lact.* de mort. Pers. *Euſeb.* chro. *Aurel.* Vic. *Eutro.* *Spart.* *Theop.* *la Marca.*

† *Fenelon*, Dialogues des Morts, Tom. 2. Dial. xi.

‡ *Strada* de bel. Bel. Dec. 1a. Lib. 1.

we had gained at St. *Quintin*'s did not hinder the French, a few months after, from taking *Calais*, the ſcanty remains of all our poſſeſſions on the continent. She was ſo ſenſible of this loſs as to ſay, was her body to be opened after her death, that Town would be found engraved on her heart. The death of the Emperor, who was her neareſt Relation by the Mother's ſide, and who had been her friend in her day of diſtreſs, though it made no change in the affairs of *Europe*, wrought on her; as every preſſure is a caſting weight when the ſcale is turned. Another ſubject of a more delicate nature, the abſence of her Huſband, is ſaid to have waſted her ſpirits and brought on a ſlow fever, of which ſhe died on the 17th of *November*, 1558, in the forty-third year of her age.

As moſt of our modern Hiſtorians have either not allowed or miſrepreſented the laudable qualities of this Princeſs; or paſſed them over in ſilence, and dwelt, at large, on the failings of her Government, it is no more than common equity to ſay, on this ſubject, what cannot be queſtioned with truth, or be concealed without malignity. I ſhall not repeat the ſeveral particulars I have had occaſion to relate in other parts of this work, and which the Reader has ſeen in their reſpective places. And becauſe the candour of Proteſtant Hiſtorians has fully juſtified the much injured character of this Princeſs, I ſhall content myſelf with copying it from theſe Originals, and almoſt in their own words.

Her private life was always ſtrict and unblemiſhed, and the duties of Religion were the great concern to which ſhe referred every thing elſe; and a future life in her eſtimate overballancing the preſent, ſhe ſet Conſcience above a Crown; and when the former was at ſtake, uſed no equivocation, but was what ſhe appeared to be, without diſguiſing her belief or practice, either through

fear

fear or flattery. On the ſame Chriſtian Principle, ſhe allowed herſelf few of thoſe diverſions which abound in the Palaces of the Great, was regular in her devotions, and endeavoured to expiate and atone for the ſacrileges of the two laſt Reigns. Next to this pious and religious demeanour to her Maker, her compaſſion for the Poor, and liberality and munificence to the decayed Nobility and Churchmen, were moſt remarkable: of which theſe are a few inſtances, among many others; She reſtored the Duke of *Somerſet*'s ſon to blood; gave back the eſtates ſeized by her Father and Brother, remitted the ſubſidies paſſed in the laſt reign, and erected anew the Biſhoprick of *Durham*. How far ſhe was from a ſanguinary diſpoſition appears from the almoſt univerſal pardon granted to thoſe who were engaged in that dangerous and capital Rebellion, in the beginning of of her Reign; in her reſtraining the *Præmunire* Act, which her Father had extended both as to perſons and caſes; and repealing all offences which had been made felony ſince the firſt year of *Henry* VIII. Beſides theſe ſalutary laws, ſhe made others for the encouragement of Huſbandry and the Woollen Manufactory; and would have been, as one of the Writers I have mentioned expreſſes *Fuller.* himſelf, worthy of our higheſt commendations, had as few acts of cruelty been done under her Reign as were done by her*."

THE

* *Collier*, Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. 2. B. 6. pag. 406. *Camden*'s Introduction to the Annals of Queen *Elizabeth*. *Echard*, pag. 327. Sir *R. Baker*, under the title *of the Queen's perſonage and conditions*. *Fuller*, Church Hiſt. Book 8. pag. 42.

Notwithſtanding what I have here related from Writers of the Church of *England*, Dr. *Burnet* affirms (Hiſt. Ref. part 3. pag. 268.) "that it does not appear that there was any one great or good deſign ever ſet on foot for the wealth or glory of the Nation, during this Princeſs's reign. But this Writer could beſtow praiſe and obloquy juſt as it ſuited his purpoſe; and, through the Chaos of his Hiſtory of the Reformation,

The Queen's death preceded that of Cardinal Pole's but by a very ſhort interval. He was taken with a quartan Ague, which, every day, impaired his ſtrength and reminded him of the end, to which he was haſtening. He regulated what he would have done in caſe of death, with the ſame prudence and tranquillity, which had appeared in his other actions, and made a Will, in which, beſides other inſtances of his piety and religion, he declares his attachment and filial obedience to the Church of *Rome*, and to the ſupreme Biſhop of it. He takes notice, that he had ever reſpected the preſent Pope, *Paul* IV. as a Father, before he was raiſed to the Pontificate; and, ſince, had always promoted his honour; and in all the embaſſies which he had performed for the Apoſtolic See, and his other employments, he was not conſcious to himſelf of having had any thing in view, but the dignity and advantage of the Chriſtian cauſe:—That, he now with all reverence, aſked his Holineſs's bleſſing, and wiſhed him peace and ſafety and every comfort. He mentions, with a peculiar ſignification of good will, *Henry Pening*, whom he ſtyles his Chamberlain and Receiver-General, and ſays he was perfectly well acquainted with all his concerns, and would be of great uſe to his Executor. He names, likewiſe, the following perſons, *Nicholas Heath*, Archbiſhop of *York* and Chancellor of *England*, *Thomas* Biſhop of *Ely*; and his beloved Kinſman, *Edward Haſtings*, Chamberlain to her Majeſty;

formation, the Reader may apply to him what *Virgil* ſays of *Dido* expiring in the agonies of ſuicide,

Oculis errantibus, alto
Quæſivit cœlo lucem, ingemuitque repertâ.

Thrice op'd her heavy eyes, and ſought the Light,
But, having found it, ſicken'd at the ſight.

Majeſty; Mr. *Boxal*, her Majeſty's Secretary; Mr. *Edward Walgrave*, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*; Mr. *Cordel*, Maſter of the Rolls; and Mr. *Henry Cole*, his Vicar-General; and deſires them to aſſiſt the Lord *Priuli* in the Executorſhip, and bequeaths fifty pounds to each. He appoints this Nobleman his ſole Heir and Executor, deſiring him to pay a few legacies, and to give to each of his houſhold, who had followed him out of foreign Countries, what he judged their merit and ſervices entitled them to *.

THIS generous friend informed the CARDINAL, he would very willingly take on himſelf the Executorſhip, and diſtribute his effects as he ſhould be pleaſed to direct; but would take no part of the inheritance: and on the CARDINAL's inſiſting on his acceptance of ſomething that might be a memorial of the laſting friendſhip they had bore each other, *Priuli* replied, that from the beginning of their acquaintance, he had other advantages in view, and had already reaped them from his example and ſociety: and all he accepted of ſo conſiderable an Inheritance was two prayer-books, which the frequent uſe his friend had made of them, had rendered valuable.

THE honour due to a friendſhip, of which, perhaps, there is no other inſtance, and which equally redounds to the credit of both, well deſerves, that, beſides what has been occaſionally ſaid in different parts of this Work, I ſhould here give the Reader a further account of a perſon who was joined to our illuſtrious Countryman by the ſtricteſt intimacy and benevolence.

ALOYSIUS PRIULI was a Venetian Nobleman, and having, as has been related, contracted a familiarity with young POLE when they were both

* Teſtamentum CARD. POLI ex Cod. M. S. Bibliothecæ *Ambroſianæ*.

Students

Students at the Univerſity of *Padua*, was ſo charmed with his uncommon merit, that, from that time, he never after left him. The rank which his Family held in the Republic, and his perſonal accompliſhments, entitled him to the higheſt expectations both in his own country and at *Rome*; all which he undervalued, that he might be the conſtant Attendant on a Foreigner in his embaſſies, voyages and labours, and partake in all the good which his friend either deſigned or performed; and being a perſon of ſingular addreſs, was every where very uſeful to him. The Senate of *Venice* having named him among the four, out of whom *Paul* III. was to chuſe a Succeſſor to the Biſhop of *Breſcia*, the Pope nominated *Priuli*, with the greateſt commendation of his virtue and abilities. But it was with extreme difficulty that his Friends and Relations prevailed on him to accept of this reverſionary grant, leſt the Incumbent's death, who was very old, ſhould oblige him to ſeparate himſelf from the LEGATE *. *Thuanus* reports, that he refuſed the Purple for the ſame reaſon. He ſurvived his illuſtrious Friend only twenty months, which he employed in collecting his effects which were diſperſed in various places, and diſpoſing of them with a fidelity equal to the confidence repoſed in him.

THE CARDINAL having made his Will in this manner, and his diſeaſe ſtill increaſing, he wrote to the Queen ſome time before his death, the following letter †: "I deſire your Grace ſhould be informed that though the length and vehemence of my diſtemper be ſuch as might juſtify my caſting aſide all cares of this world, and transferring my thoughts on that, into which I am now going to enter, yet I think it a duty to leave all Perſons

* *Poli* vita, pag. 37.

† Publiſhed by *T. Hearne*, *Oxf.* 1716. pag. 122, from the MS. Col. of *T. Smyth*.

ſatisfied with my behaviour, and, above all others, your Grace, whom it has pleaſed Almighty God to place in ſo exalted a ſtation. For which reaſon I ſend you the Dean of *Worceſter*, my Chaplain, whoſe fidelity I have long approved, and entreat your Grace to give credit to whatever he ſhall ſay on my behalf. I make no doubt but you will be ſatisfied with it, and I beg of Almighty God to proſper you to his honour, your own comfort, and the welfare of this Realm." 4th Oct. 1558.

WHEN he had dictated this letter, he wholly called off his thoughts from all earthly concerns and fixed them on that bleſſed region which was now opening to his view.—He cauſed the Holy Scriptures and other books of piety to be read frequently to him, and profeſſed he found a ſenſible refreſhment from the meditation of theſe divine leſſons; and received the Holy Euchariſt with ſingular ſentiments of devotion. Though the fever had reduced him to great weakneſs, he would, every day, aſſiſt at the holy ſacrifice, which was offered up in his Apartment, and at the elevation of the Hoſt would be raiſed on his Knees, to adore in that humble poſture his own and the common Saviour of Mankind.

HE had frequent intelligence during his illneſs of the Queen's declining ſtate, and beſides the letter I have cited, frequent meſſages paſſed between them; and as her death could not long be concealed from him, he received the news of it with great ſteadineſs, and began to diſcourſe with a ſtrength of voice and preſence of mind which ſurpriſed All who were preſent, on the wonderful Providence of God in his dealings towards them both: he doubted not, he ſaid, but that the ſame divine ſuper-intendance which had hitherto watched over them, and made their lives have a great reſemblance to each other, would likewiſe be pleaſed to put an end to them within the ſame day;

and

and that a confidence in the ſame mercy made him truſt an all-good and all-powerful Being would not entirely forſake his Country; and that he acquieſced, as he had always done, in His diſpenſations.

THE day before he died, of his own accord and without being reminded by any one, he deſired to receive the Sacrament of the laſt Anointing, by which we are ſtrengthened to withſtand the laſt aſſault of our ſpiritual Enemies, to bear up againſt the weakneſs of nature, and die the death of the Righteous. And the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, who performed theſe Rites, related to the Author of his life, that, drawing towards his end, he aſked with his uſual ſedateneſs, if the Ritual, which contains the recommendation of the departing ſoul, was at hand, and being anſwered it was and the book ſhewed him, it is now, ſays he, time to make uſe of it; and retaining his uſual tranquillity to the laſt breath, he continued to ſpeak and act in theſe moments as in all the paſt, and paid the great debt of nature in ſuch a manner that his countenance and the compoſure of his whole perſon had rather the appearance of a gentle ſleep than of death. He died on the morning of the 18th of *November*, 1558, two and twenty hours after the Queen, having lived fifty eight years and ſix months. *

HIS Body was put into a leaden Coffin and placed in a Chamber of *Lambeth* Palace, where he died, which was hung with black during forty days. An Altar was placed in the Apartment, and ſeveral Maſſes ſaid every day for the repoſe of his Soul. After which his Corpſe was conveyed to *Canterbury* with great funeral pomp, and met by all orders of the Citizens and the whole body of the Clergy; and at his Obſequies a Diſcourſe in praiſe of the Deceaſed was made in Latin and Engliſh. He was buried, as he had deſired, in

* Vita *Poli*, fol. 38, & ſeq.

St. *Thomas*'s

St. *Thomas*'s Chapel, with this ſhort Epitaph, *Depoſitum Cardinalis Poli*, the remains of CARDINAL POLE.

I HAVE frequently had occaſion to mention Cardinal *James Sadolet*, Biſhop of *Carpentras*, and his connexions with CARDINAL POLE, and I ſhall conclude the Hiſtory of the life of the latter, with a letter from *Paul Sadolet*, to the Lord *Priuli*, in which he expreſſes his own ſentiments and thoſe of the Public on the CARDINAL's death. It was written ſix months after this incident, and is dated from *Carpentras*, in which Biſhoprick he had ſucceeded his Uncle, who had been dead, as we have ſeen elſewhere, ſeveral years.

" I HAVE received your Lordſhip's letter, and with it the pledge of a friendſhip I ſet above all value, the remembrance which that incomparable man deſired, on his death-bed, I ſhould be aſſured of. This has renewed all the ſorrows with which I heard the firſt rumours of his death, and the bare mention of it ſo oppreſſes me, that your Lordſhip muſt excuſe the diſorder and confuſion in which I now write. We were informed laſt winter of this loſs of the beſt of Men, from uncertain and different accounts, which were too ſoon confirmed with the circumſtance of his dying on the ſame day with the Queen, and in ſuch honour and tranquillity that Providence ſeems to have declared itſelf in his favour, by taking him out of this life before the changes which have ſince happened. We have heard of his ſufferings, and of the manner in which he overcame the injuries the World did him; and of the invincible conſtancy, piety, and charity, with which he ſupported the weakneſſes of others: But theſe relations were very imperfect on account of the diſtance of the places from whence they came, and becauſe our friends at *Rome*, in the confuſion of the late war, have been very ſparing of their intelligence, though we often

often wrote to them, and preſſed them on this head. On the whole, it appears with the greateſt evidence, that he has confuted all thoſe who would have depreſſed and ſlandered a character which was out of the reach of reproach, and has done it with ſuch moderation as muſt change the hearts of his Adverſaries, if they are capable of relenting, and be to us the moſt ſalutary of all leſſons. This is particularly remarkable in the declaration of faith, which he makes in his laſt Will, which is no more than a confirmation of what he ever believed and profeſſed.

"But what ſhall I ſay, my Lord, of the opinion he had of your merit, and the diſtinction with which he ſignified it? I don't know which of the two is to be accounted more fortunate, your Lordſhip in ſuch a teſtimony of your virtue and integrity, or the Legate in ſuch a Friend who deſerved it. I have often read his Will in numerous Companies of perſons of quality, in order to ſpread his reputation as wide as depends on me, and I have never been able to do it with dry eyes. I could ſay much more to the ſame purpoſe, but the revolutions which have happened in *Italy*, in the Country where he died, and elſewhere, are not ſuited to ſuch a ſubject. I have nothing more to wiſh, than that when your Lordſhip has complied with the truſt placed in you, we may meet and talk over theſe tranſactions without reſtraint, and ſhare in each other's ſorrows and comforts. In the mean time I ſhall ever cheriſh the memory of Cardinal Pole, and pray to the Almighty, not ſo much for the repoſe of a Soul, which I make no doubt of being admitted into the joys of Heaven; as that I may deſerve the honourable mention by which he thought fit both during life, and in his laſt moments, to rank me amongſt his moſt valuable Friends*."

4th *July*, 1559.

* Ex Col. Epiſt. *Ital. Ber. Pini*, l. 3.

SECT.

SECT. XII.

The Character of CARDINAL POLE.

THE Life of CARDINAL POLE was a leſſon of ſuch univerſal inſtruction, that a review of it will be no leſs for the advantage of the Reader than for the honour of Him, who is the ſubject of the Work. I ſhall, therefore, draw, as it were, to one point, and repreſent in an uninterrupted view thoſe particular virtues which diſtinguiſhed the ſeveral parts of it, and which could not be related in the courſe of this Hiſtory without too frequently interrupting the facts of which it is made up.

IT may be proper to ſay ſomething of his figure and habit of body, before we ſpeak of the qualities of his mind. He was of a middle ſtature, and of a healthy rather than a robuſt conſtitution: though he was ſometimes ſubject to a Catarrh, which fell on his arm and cauſed an inflammation in his right eye. His complexion was fair, mixed with an agreeable vermillion, and his beard and hair, in his youth, of a light colour; his countenance was open and ſerene, enlivened with a chearful and pleaſant eye, the index of his mind, which was unſuſpecting, honeſt and benevolent. He was very abſtemious in his diet, and though he made two meals a day, he ſupped very ſparingly. The command over his appetite was ſuch, that no variety of meats and ſauces could prevail on him to uſe any food but what he found by experience to agree with him; and thoſe who eyed him narrowly, remarked that he eat leſs of diſhes which were reliſhing and agreeable to his palate, than of others. His table was ſerved with a plenty and elegance which became his Royal extracti-

on, and the high ſtations to which he gradually roſe; and was open to the great number of noble and illuſtrious Gueſts, who every where reſorted to him; and his Oeconomy had no other rule, than that his expences ſhould not exceed his revenue. He ſlept but little and generally roſe before day-light, and required ſo little attendance about his perſon, that he often roſe from bed and dreſt himſelf without any one's help.

He was of a thoughtful caſt of mind, and ſuch as inclined him more to ſtudy and contemplation than to the employments of public life, and he converſed but little even with the perſons of his houſehold; yet, in company, and at table particularly, he ſuited himſelf to the various tempers and callings of his Gueſts, and made uſe of the great inſight he had in all branches of literature and all ſorts of buſineſs, to make himſelf uſeful and agreeable to every one. This condeſcenſion was accompanied with ſuch dignity as made him equally reſpected and beloved, and no one preſumed to ſay or do any thing unbecoming, when he was preſent. Pope *Julius* III. was a remarkable inſtance of the ſtrength of this impreſſion, and uſed to ſay, that the bare preſence of the Cardinals *Marcellus* and Pole, was ſufficient to cauſe him to behave and act as became his ſupreme ſtation.

His converſation was ſprightly and enlivened by frequent metaphors and alluſions, which were always appoſite to the ſubject from which they roſe; and ſeemed to preſent themſelves of their own accord; and they frequently occur in his writings. Several acute and facetious ſayings were remarked in his diſcourſe, and, amongſt others the following, which ſhew the readineſs with which he turned every thing to moral improvement; and though I am ſenſible of the diſadvantage ſuch relations lie under, and how much they loſe of the life and agreeableneſs

greeableneſs they receive from the Speaker, I cannot but repeat them. I remember, ſays the Author of his life, that mention being made of a certain Prelate, who reſided at *Rome*, and neglected his Dioceſe, and yet ſpoke very freely of others for doing ſo, he turned the diſcourſe by a pleaſantry, and ſaid, the Biſhop did like thoſe who eat Garlick not to be offended with its ſmell in others who did the ſame. Being told of a young man of parts and learning, who was too forward in giving his judgment; Learning, ſays he, in youth has the ſame effect as new wine in the Vat, which, at firſt, ferments, but being drawn off and having collected its ſtrength, it at length ſettles. An Aſtrologer telling him, he had gathered his high deſtiny from the Conſtellation under which he was born, he anſwered, it might very well be, but the Star-gazer ought to have remembered the ſecond birth, which is obtained by Baptiſm, and annuls the prognoſtics of the firſt. A perſon ſaying, that the ſtudy of ſacred literature ſhould ſo take us up as to leave no leiſure for other ſtudies; and another replying, that other Sciences ſhould be called in as Handmaids, the Cardinal replied, I ſuppoſe, Sir, you have read, that *Agar* was caſt out, becauſe ſhe was ſuch. He had frequently adviſed a Biſhop to leave *Rome* and return to the care of his Dioceſe; and, on the Prelate's ſaying, he was ſetting out in order to ſtay there a month; he anſwered, I have, at leaſt, this ſatisfaction, that your puniſhment will be ſo much the lighter, *vapulabis minus*. Being deſired to read a letter written to a Nobleman, on the death of a perſon who was very dear to him, which had great oſtentation of eloquence and in a very affected ſtyle, he ſaid, he had neverſeen a letter of greater conſolation, ſince whoever read it could not refrain from laughter. Having heard a celebrated Preacher, who had a high opinion of himſelf, and be-

ing aſked what he thought of him? very well, ſays he, but I would have him, firſt preach to himſelf. A perſon of quality of *Rome*, who was making great improvements at his Villa, ſaying to him, I hope your Lordſhip will ſee this place, thirty years hence, in its full beauty; the CARDINAL replied, I don't know, Sir, by what I have deſerved ſo ill of you, that you ſhould wiſh my baniſhment from my true Country ſhould be prolonged to ſo diſtant a term; and therefore cannot accept your invitation. Having waited two days when he was in *Flanders*, for an Audience of the Emperor; on the third, the Biſhop of *Arras* came to ſignify to him, that the Emperor ſent for him, and excuſed the delay, which had been cauſed by his Majeſty's indiſpoſition; truly, ſaid the CARDINAL, I thought it ſomething ſtrange that having every day acceſs to Almighty God in behalf of the Emperor, I ſhould be refuſed acceſs to the Emperor, when I came on the part of Almighty God. Mention being made of a Gentleman, who took great care of his beard, and ſaid it coſt him two crowns a month; the beard, therefore, replied the CARDINAL, is of greater value than the head.

HE had an utter averſion to flattery and falſhood; and delivered his opinion with ſo good a grace as not to diſpleaſe thoſe from whom he diſſented: and ſeveral of the ſacred College acknowledged that no one had ever taken offence at the ingenuous freedom with which he ſpoke his ſentiment in the Conſiſtory: which, perhaps, could be ſaid of few or none but himſelf.

HE was wary and circumſpect in his ordinary converſation, even with his intimate friends; and nothing imprudent, or what might appear leſs becoming his perſon, was ever remarked to have paſſed his lips; and this was one of the indications of conſummate wiſdom, which his Acquaintance chiefly admired.

HIS

His temper was open and ingenuous, being unacquainted with the wiles of policy, and the corruption of the great world. When he was in *Flanders*, whither *Julius* III. had ſent him to negotiate a peace between the Emperor and the French King, and a rumour was ſpread that a Courier, who was charged with ſeveral diſpatches, and, amongſt others, with ſome to the CARDINAL, had been intercepted; a diſcourſe aroſe concerning ſome perſons, who had reaſon to be anxious on that occaſion, leſt their deſigns ſhould come to light; for my own part, ſays CARDINAL POLE, I am perfectly eaſy on that ſubject, ſince I ought rather to wiſh that all mine were laid open. A ſentence worthy Him who was conſcious of nothing but what was laudable.

His induſtry and application were equal to the extent and facility of his genius, and his leiſure hours were always employed either in writing or thinking on ſomething that might promote the ſervice of his Maker and the welfare of Mankind. This diſpoſition ſeemed inbred in him, and made him obſerve with ſome uneaſineſs thoſe Loiterers, who attend no calling and whoſe time is a perpetual vacation. He deteſted the fooliſh and perverſe opinion of the Vulgar, who look on a lazy and unprofitable life as the privilege of wealth and quality; whereas nothing, he ſaid, could be more foreign to a noble extraction, whoſe duty it was to be taken up with what was uſeful and honourable.

His learning and eloquence in the Latin tongue have been acknowledged by All who are acquainted with his works, moſt of which are wrote in that language. He did not, however, always give that attention to correctneſs, in which the noted Writers of his age, and particularly his intimate friends the Cardinals *Sadolet*, *Contareni*, and *Bambo* excelled; but where this is overlooked, no writings

of thoſe times are more finiſhed *. He had attained this ſkill in ſo eminent a degree at a very early period of life, that it does not appear capable of being carried to any higher perfection. In ſome of his works there is an exuberance of ſtyle, which, if it had been reduced to the ancient Roman accuracy, would have added greatly to their merit. The ſame Aſiatic diffuſeneſs was obſerved in the Roman Orator, and in both was owing to the wonderful fruitfulneſs of their genius, which furniſhed them on every ſubject, with a variety of thoughts and expreſſions. In the latter years of his life, when he was taken up with the Church affairs of a great People, his neglect of the graces of diction is very viſible: but though it takes off from the praiſe of the Writer, it adds to that of the Man. Notwithſtanding this diſadvantage, the uſe he had acquired in writing made his ſtyle ſtill abound with beauties, which ſeemed to flow from Him without his knowledge. His attention was great, and as he eaſily retained what he read, his knowledge of Hiſtory was accurate and univerſal.

In his youth he was more delighted with *Plato* than *Ariſtotle*; but, at length, he applied himſelf wholly to ſacred ſtudies, and laid aſide all others. At firſt, he read the Greek and Latin Expoſitors of the holy Scriptures; but afterwards, he ſtudied theſe only. A conſtant meditation on the Old and New Teſtament had made the knowledge of them ſo familiar to him, that he ſeemed to have learnt nothing elſe; and the moſt expert Divines of his time confeſſed his proficiency in this Science to have been ſuperior to any thing they had ever met with.

I HAVE already related what the Lord *Priuli*, who

* Witneſs his life of *Longolius*, ſeveral letters to *Sadolet*, &c. and, among others, that placed at the end of this Work.

who was present at his lectures on the Scripture whilst he was at *Liege*, thought of them, and Cardinal *Seripandi*, writing to St. *Thomas* of *Villa Nova*, Archbishop of *Valentia* in *Spain*, says, he never heard him discourse on divine matters, but he seemed a Being of a higher Order, who brought from above the eternal Truths of the Gospel, rather than a Man *. Vol. I. pag. 232.

His custom was, first, to write down what occurred to him on the subject of his reading, and then to compare his own observations with those of others on the same places. But as to the Epistles of St. *Paul*, in which there are many difficult and intricate passages, Cardinal *Hierom Seripandi*, a person of rare erudition and piety, informs us of the method by which He judged the knowledge of them was to be attained. His words are these. " I have been told, says he, that when CARDINAL POLE was consulted by what method the hidden and obscure passages of St. *Paul*'s Epistles might be unfolded and brought to light, he used to make the following answer; That the most ready and expeditious way he could propose, was for the Reader to begin at the latter part of the Epistles, where the apostle treats of morality; and to practise what was delivered there; and then go back to the beginning, where the doctrinal parts are reasoned on with great acuteness and subtlety. This speech, continues *Seripandi*, was truly becoming so great a man, whose probity, religion, and sanctity of manners were no less admirable than his erudition. His discernment in divine matters gave him to understand that pure and upright minds attain with ease the knowledge of the most sublime and abstracted truths; whereas those who neglect the practical and more intelligible parts of Holy Writ, as profane persons, were

* *Reg. Pole* Epist. pars 2a, pag. 4. Praef.

were forbid accefs to the Sanctuary." On other occafions he was accuftomed to fay, that whoever betook themfelves to the ftudy of the Scriptures were to behave like thofe who were admitted to the inner part of the Temple through a low and narrow entrance: and that none fhould afpire to this Science on a prefumption of their parts and learning; but bring to it an humble mind, and an underftanding, as the Apoftle fpeaks, under the fubjection of Faith. He ufed, likewife, to give this caution to All who ftudied the Scriptures, that the defire of worldly honour or wealth fhould have no influence in fuch an undertaking; fince nothing could be more foreign to it: that the mind fhould be prepared by prayer, and, as has been faid, free from ambition and every finful and irregular attachment.

He left behind him many excellent Works, feveral of which I have had occafion to fpeak of in the courfe of this Hiftory, and to give fuch extracts from each as may enable the Reader to have a fufficient infight into the fubject, and bring him acquainted with the Author's manner of treating it. The chief of them are *the life of* his Friend *Longolius*, four Books *on the unity of the Church*, addreffed to *Henry* VIII; to which he added *a Preface* to *Edward* VI. his Son *. *An Apology to Charles* V. in which there is an Analyfis of *Machiavel*'s Politics †. I have taken notice elfewhere, that he was the firft who detected the pernicious tendency of this Author's writings, almoft as foon as they appeared, and a few years after the Author's death. A treatife *on the nature of a General Council:* a Dialogue *on the Duties of the Papacy*; which he wrote in the Conclave, and afterwards enlarged: *the Canons of the National Synod of the* Church *of England.*

* *Bafiliæ*, anno 1570. præfigitur *Longolii* epiftolis.
† *Reg. Poli*, pars 1a, pag. 136.

England. A diſſertation *on the Baptiſm of Conſtantine*, *on the day of our Saviour's birth*; and a dialogue *on his Paſſion.* A diſcourſe *on Peace*, to the Emperor and French King. *Several letters to Sadolet.* The *Commentaries* he wrote, in his youth, on all *Cicero*'s works, were never printed, and the Manuſcript is loſt. His poſthumous works were numerous, but more weighty concerns hindered him from putting the laſt hand to them; and they were conſigned to Cardinal *Moron*, his intimate friend; amongſt theſe were *a Commentary on the Prophet Iſaiah and the Pſalms*, and other Books of the Scriptures; a large treatiſe *on the manner of Preaching*, and ſeveral others, ſome of which were in Engliſh. I have ſeen at *Oxford*, A book of the Statutes of that Univerſity, with the Manuſcript Notes of CARDINAL POLE.

THOUGH his diſpoſitions, as has been ſaid, inclined him rather to privacy and retirement than to the active ſcenes of publick life, yet he was very dextrous in the management of buſineſs, and gained eſteem in thoſe very undertakings which were not attended with ſucceſs. This appears in his Embaſſies to Courts which had the moſt oppoſite views and intereſts; in the Government of *Viterbo*; in the Council of *Trent*; in the arduous taſk of bringing over his Country to its ancient belief; and in the plan of Diſcipline, of which I have given an abſtract, and which can never be too much commended. His prudence and foreſight enabled him to conſider things in an univerſal light, and were exempt from thoſe perturbations which are the greateſt obſtacles to the deſired event of what we undertake. He waited the opportunity of buſineſs, which made him, ſometimes, ſeem ſlow to thoſe who were unacquainted with the ſuitableneſs of circumſtances; and as ſuch perſons don't take their meaſures from

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the nature of affairs, but from humour, they cannot fail of taking thoſe that are improper. When any of his Friends ſeemed to deſire a quicker diſpatch, his anſwer was, that they muſt let him go on his uſual pace, for if they hurried him, it would fare with them as with thoſe who ſpur a pacing horſe, which only makes his gait more uneaſy.

THE elevation of his mind and his excellent virtues placed him above thoſe Paſſions to which vulgar ſouls are enſlaved, luſt, anger, envy, and avarice, and fixed him on purſuits of a nobler ſort. His whole behaviour from early youth was ſo perfectly clear of any ſuſpicion of incontinence, that he was eſteemed by All who knew him, to have lived exempt from any weakneſs of this kind *. When his Domeſticks had done any thing which deſerved reprehenſion, he always took care to give it without any indication of choler; and timed it ſo as it might be well received by the delinquent and produce an amendment. His temper was ſo remarkably even and free from reſentment, that ſeveral who were but little acquainted with him, and guided themſelves by very different maxims, thought that on ſome occaſions he wanted dignity and let himſelf down too much. Though *Gardiner* had endeavoured firſt to obſtruct his return to his Country, and then to obſcure his reputation and leſſen his authority with *Philip* and the Engliſh Miniſtry; yet on his return, when the Queen's confidence in him was ſuch, as the Lord of *Noailles* writes to his Court, " that it was plain ſhe neither would nor could live without having him about her perſon; on all occaſions he ſhewed a ſingular eſteem for that great Miniſter;

* Expers omnis libidinis totâ vitâ tum in Anglia tum extra Angliam habitus eſt. Vita *Poli*, fol. 39, à tergo.

Minifter; and after his death, always mentioned him with honour.

He was too well verfed in the moral of the Gofpel not to have learnt from the divine Author of it the difficult leffon of forgiving injuries: A proof of this are the feveral inftances I have given of his difpofitions toward *Henry* VIII. Three Englifhmen came to *Capranica* with a defign to murder him; and when they were taken up on fufpicion, confeffed their crime, and that the King had fent them on that fhameful and wicked errand. Being convicted, he would have them only condemned to the Galleys for a few days, alleging the offence regarded himfelf alone. He ufed the like clemency to fome Italians who had contrived his death at *Viterbo*, and caufed them to be fet at liberty. I am informed, fays the Writer of his life, from one who was prefent, that having received advice of the injurious profecution which *Paul* IV. carried on againft him, he was fenfibly touched at it, and juftified himfelf by a fhort treatife addreffed to the Pope. The fubject led him to fome things not very honourable to the Pontiff, and having finifhed the piece and caufed a fair copy of it to be drawn off, he perufed it by the fire fide, and threw both the tranfcript and the original into the flames, repeating this injunction of the old law, *thou fhalt not difcover thy Father's ignominy.*

He had from temper and conftitution, great generofity and a propenfion to acts of benevolence, and his charity was univerfal. He not only took care that no affiftance was wanting to the meaneft of his Domefticks, in time of ficknefs, but frequently vifited them himfelf, and furnifhed poor ftudents and perfons of probity, who were reduced, with the means of fubfiftence. I remember, fays the above-mentioned Writer, that having received at *Trent*, when he was Legate, four

four thousand Ducats of arrears due to him on a Pension from the Bishoprick of *Granada*, he said, he had no occasion for such an extraordinary supply, having hitherto lived clear of debt without it, and immediately divided it amongst his Family, giving to each according to his rank and deserts. *Victoria Colonna*, Marchioness of *Pescara*, left him, by her Will, 10,000 crowns: but he refused to accept of any part of so considerable a legacy, and ordered the whole to be paid to that Lady's Niece, when she married Don *Garcia* of *Toledo*, Son to the Viceroy of *Naples*. Being returned to his Country, he bestowed with the same munificence, almost three thousand pounds on those of his Houshold who had followed him from *Italy*; and to such as were desirous to go back again, he ordered, moreover, horses and wherewith to defray the expence of the journey. On occasions which called for magnificence, he shewed his disposition to be as noble as his birth; yet, as I have said, he regulated his expences by the means he had to support it; when these increased, his bounty, like the Sun, spread its ray, and shone away the superfluity. I have already spoke of the Income he received from *England*, whilst the King continued the allowance he at first assigned him. As soon as he was honoured with the Purple, that pension ceased, and whatever belonged to him was confiscated. *Paul* III. allotted him two hundred crowns a month, on which he subsisted, some time, at *Rome*; and *Giberti*, Bishop of *Verona*, who, as we have seen, had a singular esteem for his merit, and knew how much his fortune fell short of his rank and occasions, bequeathed to him a yearly pension of 2000 Ducats on the Archbishoprick of *Granada*, which he was empowered to transfer, and another benefice in the Church of *Valentia* of the yearly value of 800 more. At the death of the Cardinal

dinal of *Ravenna*, which happened in 1549, the Pope conferred on him a post in the Diocese of *Adria*, the annual profits of which amounted to 1000 crowns.

THIS was his revenue till he was recalled to *England*. *Paul* III. who bore him a singular affection, would have conferred on him the Bishoprick of *Spoleto*, which being in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, is esteemed a very desirable preferment; but as he thought the character of Cardinal would oblige him to be much at *Rome*, which was incompatible with Episcopal residence, he refused to accept of it with so much modesty and disinterestedness as neither to displease the Pope, nor offend those whose conduct such maxims might seem to censure.

ON his return to his Country, being named by the Queen to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, he could not be prevailed on to accept of that high dignity, till the Pope had assured him, he should not be recalled from *England*, and he sent *Godwell*, Bishop of St. *Asaph*, to *Rome*, that this affair being settled, his Conscience might be at ease. Besides the Revenues of this See, the Queen allotted him a pension of 1500 pounds on the Bishoprick of *Winchester*. She did this of her own motion; for in the high favour he enjoyed with her Majesty, he asked nothing for himself, nor entered any claim for what he had a right to, nor so much as mentioned it. The Earldom of *Warwick* was devolved to him by inheritance; yet all the instances of his family to make out his title, could never prevail on him to do so. He was invested with the most ample Legantine powers, which, had he made the same use of as others had done, would have been very lucrative. But he was so far from enriching himself by this Office, that the manner in which he exercised it put him to a considerable expence. Every department

ment of it was ſerved without fees ; and where the Laws preſcribed a Fine, it was employed for the relief of the Needy, or put to ſuch uſes as Piety countenanced.

His Cathedral likewiſe experienced the effects of his liberality : He obtained of the Queen the Patronage of nineteen Pariſhes for the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* ; and endowed it with ſome houſes built by him, and a ground rent on the Eaſt ſide of *Lambeth*. He gave the Metropolitan Church a pair of large gilt Candleſticks, a Cenſer in the ſhape of a ſhip, a Mitre adorned with Jewels, a Silver Croſier or Paſtoral Staff, a Croſs, two Pontifical rings of great value, a large ſilver Ciſtern for holy water ; and he makes mention in his Will of above 1000 pounds laid out in repairs of houſes belonging to his See. He founded, by his will, a mortuary ſervice, for the repoſe of his ſoul and thoſe of his Parents and family, to be performed by two Prieſts, whom the Chapter was to appoint : but this diſpoſition was ſet aſide on the change of Religion, which immediately followed his death. He deſigned, if he had lived, to have built a ſtately Palace at *Canterbury*.

He was ſo little touched with that infirmity of noble minds, the Love of Fame, that, though no one of that golden Age, in which Learning was revived, had a greater diſpoſition for eloquence, or fairer opportunities to improve it than himſelf, he laid aſide all ſuch views as ſoon as the exigencies of his Country called for other ſuccours. He refuſed, when very young, the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, offered to him by *Henry* VIII. on terms inconſiſtent with his duty ; and, afterwards the Papacy, which the ſacred College would have conferred on him. On his return from baniſhment, he declined, as much as in him lay, the See of *Canterbury* and the other honours by which his

his Sovereign and the two Universſities teſtified their ſenſe of his merit.

THIS ſpirit, which was ſuperior to ambition, was ennobled by a fortitude and greatneſs of ſoul, of which all praiſe would be ſhort in compariſon of a plain narrative of the inſtances, in which it was exerted. Nor was this philoſophical firmneſs of mind, but grounded in an aſſured and ſteady confidence in God, whom he looked on as the beſt and wiſeſt Diſpoſer of all events, and, therefore, to be equally adored and bleſſed in whatever happens to us, that only excepted, of which he cannot be the Author, moral Evil. This Principle, ſo becoming a Chriſtian, ſupported him under the ſlanders which were raiſed againſt his reputation: in baniſhment, perſecution, and the confiſcation of his fortunes; in the violent death of his Mother and eldeſt Brother; in the various trials to which rage, envy, and miſtaken zeal expoſed him: it cauſed him to pardon the repeated attempts made on his life, and to wiſh all good to the Prince, who was the Author of them. The ſame magnanimity ſhewed itſelf to no leſs advantage in the Chriſtian moderation with which he bore his elevation, and when all eyes were open to admire, and all tongues to praiſe him.

HIS gratitude, and ſenſe of good offices done him by others appear in the return he would have made to the obligations he had to *Priuli*, the deareſt of his friends: in the application with which he promoted, at *Rome*, the intereſts of the Biſhop and Prince of *Liege*, who had behaved to him with the greateſt munificence and cordiality; and on all occaſions in which thoſe virtues could be exerciſed. The duty and love he bore the Counteſs of *Shrewſbury*, his Mother, and his affection for his Brothers and Family, though of a ſuperior order to what is generally underſtood by ſocial virtues,

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are to be ranked with them; and the Love of his Country crowned them all.

If we consider what he did and suffered on this Principle, we shall confess no one had ever a better claim to the title of a *Patriot* than Cardinal Pole. He opposed at a very early period of life, the attempts of a wilful Tyrant, who, governed by no other rule than the capriciousness of his passions; and made or antiquated Laws, and disposed of the lives and properties of his People, just as the present caprice was to be gratified. He never ceased thinking and writing on what he judged would be to the advantage of his Country; and chose banishment and dependance rather than consent to measures which were destructive of its Religion and Laws.

When he was restored to it, he acted with no other view than its tranquillity and happiness. He prevailed on the Clergy to give up all their claim to the Church Lands; and on the Pope, to confirm, in the most ample and irrevocable form, this cession to the Lay Owners. The Abbé of *San Salute*, who was one of his chief Confidants, did an infinite number of good offices, as the Lord *Noailles*, the French Ambassador, informs us, in opposition to Spanish measures; and the Cardinal, says the same Author, was an enemy to all violence, and particularly to any scheme of subduing the Nation by force.

Amongst the many congratulations which came to him from all parts, on his being honoured with the Purple, one was from the Doge and Senate of *Venice*; to whom, in his answer, he assigns this reason for being little affected with the honour conferred on him, *quia Vox Patriæ aberat:* for though his reputation began to expand itself on all parts, he refused to enjoy the gale, of which his Country did not partake.

See Vol. I. pag 4.

He had no sooner heard that *Henry* had resolved

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the death of Biſhop *Fiſher* and Sir *Thomas More*, but foreſeeing the ſcene of bloodſhed of which this was to be the prelude, he immediately ſent a Courier from *Padua* to *Charles* V. to inform the Emperor of the calamities with which the whole Nation and particularly that Prince's Aunt, Queen *Catharine*, were threatened, if that Act of blood was not prevented. In fine, on *Mary*'s acceſſion, he overlooked all the ſweets of a ſtudious and contemplative life, which he had choſen at *Maruza*, and embarked, as he ſays, with a full knowledge of the difficulties he was to encounter, on the ſtormy and turbulent ocean of a new and divided adminiſtration.

He had ever ſhown remarkable mildneſs to thoſe who diſſented from the doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, as we have ſeen in his Government of *Viterbo*, and particularly in the caſe of *Flaminius*. He purſued the ſame method in *England*, ſo as to extort this conceſſion from Dr. *Burnet*, " that ſuch qualities and ſuch a temper, could he have brought others into the ſame meaſures, would probably have gone far towards bringing back this Nation to the Church of *Rome*; as he was a man of as great probity and virtue as any of the age he lived in." He gained Sir *John Cheek*, as I have already related, by this Chriſtian and perſuaſive manner of proceeding; and next, to his own family, was obſerved to converſe chiefly with Secretary *Cecil*. He extended the ſame lenient arts even to *Cranmer*, in order to bring him over to a better way of thinking.

Vol. I. pag. 343.

Hiſt. Ref. Vol. 2d.

Though he was at the head of the Council, he uſed no violence nor intrigues to bring others into his meaſures, which were always moderate, and, therefore, frequently widely different from the generality of thoſe who compoſed it. Having modeſtly declared his own ſentiments, he referred every thing to the Majority: and had learnt

from a Pagan, of whoſe writings he was a profeſſed Admirer, to diſtinguiſh between bearing what we cannot help, and approving what we ought to condemn *. In Religious matters, which were more peculiarly his Department, he obſerved the ſame conduct; and ſuffered rigours to be exerciſed which were no leſs contrary to his judgment than inclination. Thus, what has been blamed in his behaviour as too paſſive, was the reſult of his deference to the Laws and Conſtitutions of his Country, which did not allow him to ſtrain the tender ſtrings of Government, nor exert an undue authority on any pretext whatever. When he was at full liberty to act on his own principles, as in the Government of *Viterbo*, and the Dioceſe of *Canterbury*, his behaviour was ſuch as to give his Enemies a pretext to miſrepreſent his lenity towards thoſe who erred, as an indication of his favouring error. His behaviour when he preſided at the Council of *Trent* is a further proof of the good will he bore to thoſe who had left the Church; and that he looked on all deviations from truth as a misfortune which called for our compaſſion to thoſe who were fallen into them.

It has been hinted before, that his inclination led him to retirement, which cauſed him, in his youth, to ſhun Courts and much Company; and, when he was advanced to the Purple, to withdraw, as often as he could, to religious houſes and other ſolitary places, and follow Nature when he could do it without a neglect of Duty. His Retirements were the moſt uſeful inſtruction of the uſe ſuch leiſure ſhould be put to, as they did not ſhut out the real advantages of Society, and become an abode of every meanneſs and abjection of the mind, and thus end in an excluſion of improvement, politeneſs and freedom of thought. His retreat was

* Non enim eſt idem ferre, ſi quid ferendum eſt; et probare, ſi quid probandum non eſt. *Cic.* Ep. Fam. 9. 6.

was of a very different kind, and withdrew him from the vices and follies of the world, and whatever was foreign to his profession, or might be a hindrance to study, piety, or the discharge of his Duty. It consisted in the opportunities of laying a settled ground-work of that elevation of mind, which always represented to him the service of his Maker and the good of Mankind as the end of his Actions; and enabled him to look down on the advantages of his birth, the honours he was raised to and the reputation he had gained, with the same superiority and disengagement, as a great Princess did on the Badges of Royalty in that memorable prayer she made to her Maker. Such a Retreat admitted every intellectual and moral improvement, a correspondence with the wisest and best men of those times; and made his Life like a gentle stream, which does not only glide through lonely vales; but visits, in its course, populous Cities, and is at once, their wealth and ornament.

Hester, Chap. 14. ver. 16.

He was much addicted to communication with God by prayer and contemplation of divine matters, as the proper object of the mind of man, and of which, when the organ is not vitiated, a due perception follows of course. Before he entered into holy Orders, he received the Blessed Eucharist on all Sundays; and the Bishop of St. *Asaph*, who was many years his Chaplain, used to relate of him, that at *Capranica*, and elsewhere, he assisted the Priest at the Altar, and even put on and took off his vestments, and rendered him, both before and after the sacrifice, all the offices of a menial Clerk. When he had received the Priesthood, he never omitted to celebrate the holy Mysteries at least once a week. His accuracy in all the ceremonies and rites of the Liturgy, was as observable as the recollected air with which he performed them: the very tone of his voice, his countenance, every ges-

ture ſpoke the awe with which he was penetrated, and the attention with which he offered to Almighty God the great ſacrifice of atonement, and praiſe, of impetration and thankſgiving.

THERE was no incident which did not ſuggeſt to his mind ſentiments of the moſt tender and enlightened piety, and furniſhed him with an opportunity of ſtirring them up in others. *Philip* had ſent the Queen a Crucifix from *Spain* *. And the Pope had preſented the King with a rich Cap of Maintenance and a Belt; and the Queen, with a golden Roſe of exquiſite workmanſhip, which curioſities were to be delivered by the CARDINAL, and his ingenious piety ſupplied him with various moral and religious reflexions on theſe ſubjects, which are come down to us in two very edifying Letters †. A young Monk, his friend *Contareni*'s Nephew, complained to him, that he found much diſſipation in the office his Superior had placed him in; and the CARDINAL's advice to him is writ with a knowledge of the duties of a Monaſtic Profeſſion, no leſs than if he had ſpent his life in the ſtudy and practice of them ‡.

THOUGH he found great inconvenience from faſting and fiſh diet, he could never be prevailed on to interrupt the Faſt of Lent, till ſickneſs, into which he fell almoſt every year, obliged him to it; and he choſe rather to enjoy a leſs good ſtate of health than that his example ſhould give offence.

THESE qualifications fitted REGINALD POLE for Epiſcopacy, and the higheſt Order of it, the Primateſhip of a large and populous Kingdom. I have already given the Reader ſeveral inſtances of the manner in which he acquitted himſelf of the duties of this ſtation; and I ſhall here give him the ſentiments he entertained of it, and the principles on which he filled up the meaſure of its

obligations.

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ª, pag. 58. † Ibid. pag. 36.
‡ Ibid. pars 4ª, pag. 21.

obligations. Theſe may be gathered from the following abſtract of two of his Letters.

"I WAS yeſterday informed, ſays he, writing to *Miranda*, a Spaniſh Prelate, and his particular Friend, that the King had conferred on you the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*; and I thought it an event on which I ought not to be ſilent, as it is cuſtomary to congratulate our friends, when they obtain a Poſt either of honour or profit. But though you are now named to a dignity not inferior to any of the Church, the Papacy only excepted, yet the time of congratulation is not yet come. I may, indeed, felicitate his Majeſty on the choice he has made, as having been ſolely guided by the learning and manners of a Perſon, who is equal to the charge. But, as for yourſelf, my dear *Miranda*, on what title can I wiſh you joy, till I hear how you behave in this exalted ſtation? If neither ambition or ſolicitation had any part in this promotion; if you are not elated by the honours and wealth it brings with it; if your aſſent to the choice made of your perſon was a deference you owed to him by whom you were nominated, and proceeded from a deſire of diſcharging the duties of your Miniſtry (and the opinion I have of your virtue perſuades me that this is really the caſe) you have given great ſubject of joy to your true friends, and particularly to the large Province committed to your care; but you yourſelf ſtand in need of comfort, inſtead of expecting compliments *. 26th *Sept.* 1557.

IN the other Letter, where the ſame great Prelate had informed the CARDINAL that he was blamed for living at Court and not reſiding in his Dioceſe, he anſwers the objections made to his conduct, and enters on a very particular diſcuſſion of the point in debate. "If, ſays he, I was abſent from

* *Reg. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5a, pag. 36.

from my Diocefe, and detained here by any thing but neceffity, and fuch a neceffity as regards the Ecclefiaftical more than the Civil State of this Kingdom, I fhould deem myfelf utterly inexcufable. But whether this be really the cafe, or whether I deceive myfelf and impofe on others, I can judge by no other criterion than that I am not confcious of having in view either honours or riches, or any private emolument for myfelf, or any who belong to me; which if I did, I fhould be the firft to condemn myfelf. Thefe are my real difpofitions, and are vifible to All who are acquainted with me, and on this account I am more at eafe: yet I don't prefume to juftify myfelf, but conftantly pray to the Searcher of hearts, that if I fwerve from what is right, he would lead me back into his paths which are the rule of righteoufnefs. However I am fo far from appealing to this fupreme Judgment-feat as if I was not accountable to the Tribunal of the Public, that I am defirous to hear even the unfavourable opinion which any particular perfon may entertain of me, thofe efpecially of whofe friendfhip I am perfuaded.

All I would infinuate is, that he who would decide whether my prefence be more ufeful here, or elfewhere, ought to be thoroughly acquainted with the Civil and Ecclefiaftical ftate of this Kingdom, and with the Revolutions of the late years, during which the ancient form of Religion, which now begins again to take place, was entirely changed. He muft likewife be informed of the difpofitions of all orders of the Realm, and of many things which perfonally regard the Queen.

"I don't prefume to infer from hence that my prefence is more neceffary here than it would be elfewhere; but Perfons, who underftand the condition of the Church and State, on my earneft

neſt petition to the Queen, that I might give myſelf wholly to my Paſtoral charge, repreſented to me in the ſtrongeſt terms, how ill-timed ſuch a ſtep would be, and that every motive both of Religion and Love of my Country obliged me to continue with her Majeſty. Should they be miſtaken, this I am ſure of, that my inclination draws me to my Church, where I ſhould find all the great comforts of life much more at hand than where I am, and where nothing detains me but the entreaties and advice of perſons of probity, and Her deſire, to whom this National Church is ſo much indebted, and who is too conſcientious to inſiſt on ſuch a meaſure, unleſs ſhe judged the welfare of her People intereſted in it. I will only exemplify this in a ſingle inſtance: It has pleaſed their Majeſties to give back the Church Lands, which were inveſted in the Crown; and to make uſe of me in the diſtribution of them: now, to do this ſo that the Parochial Clergy may have a decent maintenance, on which Church Diſcipline ſo much depends, is ſo perplexed an affair, and attended with ſo many difficulties, that I could never extricate myſelf without their aſſiſtance who cannot be abſent from the Court."

MIRANDA had likewiſe teſtified ſome ſurpriſe at the CARDINAL'S not viſiting ſeveral Pariſhes in *London* which belonged to him: to which he anſwers, that although inſtruction from the Pulpit was generally underſtood by theſe viſitations, yet the daily experience he had of the infected and infirm ſtate of the Kingdom, had informed him, that the neglect and abuſe of the Word of God was proportioned to the opportunities Men had of hearing it: and this was no where more viſible than in *London*; that unleſs the Diſcipline of the Church was previouſly ſettled, Sermons were rather hurtful than beneficial, becauſe Carnal men came to them as an amuſement, and verified

what was ſaid to the Prophet, *they ſit before thee as if they were my People, and hear thy words, but will not do them; for with their mouth they ſhew much love, but their heart goes after covetouſneſs: and lo thou art to them as a delightful ſong of one that has a pleaſing voice, and can play well on an Inſtrument; for they hear thy words, but do them not.* This, continues he, is here the caſe, for when the Sermon is over, the Audience, were they not conſtrained by the Laws, would not aſſiſt at the holy Sacrifice, nor at the Church Offices, and would wholly neglect Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline; wherefore, if more pains were taken in ſettling what concerned this, than in preaching, it was no more than the preſent ſtate of the Nation ſeemed to require; that he did not deny the expediency of the latter, where there was any proſpect of its being heard with profit; and, therefore, the Biſhop of *London*, *Henry Cole*, who was his, the LEGATE's Chancellor, and Dean of *London*, and other learned and pious perſons were not wanting to this duty; that a Sermon was preached every *Sunday* at St. *Paul*'s Croſs, which was much frequented. That himſelf had frequently preached in his Metropolitan and other Churches, and twice at *London*, and ſhould continue to do ſo, and to correct and regulate what he ſaw had need of it. He mentions the National Synod he had lately held; the Homilies in the Engliſh language which were ſoon to be publiſhed, and *Miranda*'s Catechiſm, which was tranſlating into the ſame tongue; and ſays, that though oppreſt with buſineſs, he had never failed to publiſh from time to time ſuch treatiſes as he judged ſalutary to his People; and never had nor would be wanting to that duty of a Paſtor which conſiſts in Inſtruction *.

Ezek. ch. 33. v. 31.

Richmond, 22 *June*, 1558.

THESE

* *Reg. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ª, pag. 69.

THESE Virtues of CARDINAL POLE were ſo known and celebrated through *Europe*, that thoſe who had never ſeen, yet loved and honoured him. He was highly eſteemed by *Charles* V. who was acquainted with him, and uſed to ſay, he did not know a better Man than the Engliſh CARDINAL; though reaſons of ſtate, as they are termed, ſometimes hindered that Prince from ſhewing him that regard which an honeſter Man would have done. *Francis* I. King of *France*, having ſeen and converſed with him, regretted he was late acquainted with his merit, and ſaid if he had known it ſooner, no other perſon ſhould have had his intereſt for the Papacy at the death of *Paul* III. *Henry* II. deſired to advance him to the ſame dignity, when it was vacated by the death of *Julius* III. and *Marcellus*. He was held in equal eſteem by *Paul* III. of the Farneſian family; and by *Henry* VIII. of *England*, as long as his regard was any commendation; by *Victoria* See Vol. I. *Colonna*, Marchioneſs of *Peſcara*, a character pag. 347. above all Greek and Roman fame: by the ſacred College, who would have raiſed him to the Popedom: by *Philip* and *Mary*; the latter of whom had a confidence in him without reſerve: by both the Univerſities, and the whole Engliſh Nation. The ſame account was made of him by the great men of the age he lived in, by *Eraſmus*, Sir *Thomas More*, and Biſhop *Fiſher*, and the Reſtorers of Learning of the Univerſity of *Padua*; by the Cardinals *Sadolet*, *Contareni* and *Bembo*, who were ſome of the moſt polite Writers of thoſe times. The uſual appellation by which he was diſtinguiſhed, was that of *the modeſt and learned Cardinal*. *Madrutius*, Cardinal of *Trent*, a perſon of great endowments and experience, was accuſtomed to ſay, he valued himſelf chiefly on two accounts; for having been employed by *Charles* V. and having loved and honoured the CARDINAL

of

of *England :* And Cardinal *Seripandi*, in the letter I have mentioned to St. *Thomas* of *Villa-nova*, ſays, he was a perſon of ſuch ſingular virtue, piety and learning, and ſo much eſteemed by good men, that thoſe who refuſed him their approbation were not to be ranked in that number; that himſelf never expected any greater felicity than to have been admitted into his friendſhip and familiarity : and ſhould never end was he to relate what he knew of his integrity, the ſanctity of his life, and patience in adverſity, a virtue which is the proper badge of Chriſtianity *.

His name, ſay the Authors of his Life, was, at the time they wrote, ſtill freſh in the minds of all good Men, and cheriſhed by them; and was long the common Topic of Converſation. His memory was ſo acceptable to Princes and Men in power, that whoever had been any time in his family was ſure to meet with their favour and protection.

* *Reg. Poli*, par 2ª, pag. 4. Præf.

THE END.

APPENDIX.

The two following Pieces are referred to in the First Part of the Work; under Number I. *and Number* II. *the first page* 29, *in the Note: the second, page* 96.

NUMBER I.

MARTIN LUTHER wrote in the German language a Book *on private Masses and the anointing of Priests*, and prevailed on his friend, *Justus Jonas*, to translate it into Latin. It contains, among other things, an account of what passed between himself and the Spirit of Darkness on the Articles which make the subject of the Work, and the arguments are set down by which the Devil prevailed on him to renounce the Catholic Doctrine on these heads. *Luther* represents his Antagonist not only as a plausible Sophister, but as an able Disputant; justifies the strength of his reasoning and partakes of the imaginary triumph over the Faith of the Church, which he ascribes to him; and then concludes, that Christians were at length freed from these tenets and practices. He seems really possessed by that Spirit, to whom he yields the victory, and through the whole narration, which cannot be read without horrour, explodes the Tenets which the Devil had disapproved, by the most scurrilous invectives and every kind of insult and mockery. *Op.* Mar. Luth. *t.* 7. *fol.* 228, *&* seq. *Edit.* Wirtembergæ, *ann.* 1557.

NUMBER

NUMBER II.

REGINALDUS POLUS JACOBO SADOLETO, *Episc. Carpentoracti*, S. P. D.

GRATIAS tibi agam prius, (ita enim rerum ordo, et mei officii ratio poſtulant) deinde ad mandata tua convertar. Neque verò illa ſolùm me ad agendum gratias impellunt, quæ tu in me præſentem officia contuliſti: cùm me domo atque hoſpitio honorificè ſanè lautèque acciperes, cum animum meum, tui congreſſus cupidiſſimum, erudito illo et pleno gravitatis ſermone retineres, et planè paſceres: atque maximis de rebus quærentem et hæſitantem, omni prorſus ſcrupulo et dubitatione liberares. Quæ quidem quoties in mentem revoco (revoco autem ſæpiſſimè) quod de *Platonis* cœna dixit *Timotheus*, cùm ab eo invitatus eſſet, et eundem poſtero die vidiſſet, cœnas *Platonis* non modò in præſentia, ſed in poſterum quoque diem eſſe jucundas: idem ego multò prolixiùs de tuo hoſpitio dicere poſſum; non modò in præſentia fuiſſe jucundum, ſed in aliquot menſes jam fuiſſe, atque idem, ut ſpero in multos annos futurum.

AT verò cùm à tua conſuetudine, cujus ego ſuavitatem tum primùm quaſi guſtare cœperam, tam citò dirimi, ac tanto locorum intervallo disjungi, animo ſanè moleſtè ferrem, cùm nec mihi tum integrum eſſet aliter facere, rationibus meis ſic ferentibus, et in hæc loca penè trahentibus: ne huic quidem dolori meo defuiſti. Inita enim à te

te ratio eſt, quemadmodum eo quo tantopere delectabar, non uſquequaque privarer, ſed ut te etiam abſens aliqua ex parte fruerer, adjuncto mihi ejuſmodi itineris comite, qui te mihi quotidie reddebat, qui jucundiſſimos tuos, et graviſſimos ſermones ſine intermiſſione referebat, nec ſanè intermori eam, quam ex conſuetudine tua voluptatem cepi, ullo pacto ſinebat. Quis enim te ipſum meliùs exprimere potuit, quàm tu, quàm ſcripta tua, quàm liber ille tuus quem per me *Bembo* reddi voluiſti? In quo prudentia tua, gravitas, doctrina, quibus maximè delectabar, elucent. Hunc certè mihi comitis loco accepi: qui non modò mihi in brevi illa et paucorum dierum via, quæ in *Italiam* properanti inſtabat, pro vehiculo fuit, quod de facundo comite dici ſolet: ſed in longo totius vitæ curſu, in quo maximè, et periculoſiſſimè laboratur, et vehiculi, et ducis locum facilè obtineret. Ex quo quidem hanc primo aſpectu voluptatem cepi, quòd mihi cogitationem omnem de eo, in quod ingreſſus eram, itinere, impedito ſanè et moleſto, abſtulit, meque totum in contemplationem præclari illius itineris abduxit, quod te duce et monſtratore, adoleſcenti ad laudem et decus tendenti, certum et glorioſum proponebatur. In quo quidem valde delectabar, cùm quaſi oculis, ſic animo cernerem, te graviſſimum et prudentiſſimum ſenem, ut peritum gubernatorem, gnarum et locorum et maris, ſyderumque et tempeſtatum omnium, ſic animo providum, ſic omnia pericula longè lateque proſpicientem, ut nihil non prædiceres et præcaveres, quod vel impedire tam præclarum curſum, vel in periculum ducere poſſet. Qui non cuivis adoleſcenti, in vulgi moribus educato, vulgaribus parentibus orto, et qui filiorum educationem in poſtremis haberent, te ducem profitearis: ſed illi qui ab optimis

optimis parentibus penè antequam in lucem puer ederetur, huic tam præclaræ expeditioni fuerit destinatus: cujus educationi natura non obsistere, sed suas dotes benignè largiendo, se fautricem sponderet. Qui ab incunabulis sic eductus, sic literis et moribus formatus fuerit quemadmodum est à te sanctissimè et prudentissimè præscriptum.

Hunc verò talem cùm tibi ipse oratione formâsses, vel potius natura sic formatum, et parentum votis huic rei destinatum, cùm *Paulum* tuum accepisses, quid non voluptatis mihi præbuit præclarus ille, quem recenses, in eo instituendo apparatus? Deinde cùm ex puerili institutione, tanquam ex angustiis, eum abduxisses, et in latum illud, quod adolescentis institutioni quasi pelagus patebat, adduxisses, tum sanè maxim delectabar, cùm te secundissimo illo orationis cursu, plenis eloquentiæ velis, ita omnes artes doctrinasque percurrentem viderem, ut cùm nihil tibi tum aliud propositum esset, nisi ut earum artium sedes et loca, ubi ad tempus insistendum, atque ad majora et ulteriora tendenti commorandum esset, monstrares: ea tamen sic oratione illustras, sic artium singularum vires et virtutes explicas, ut propè monstrando in earum jam possessionem mittere adolescentem videaris, atque eas recensendo tradere. Hæc certè magna cum voluptate contemplabar. Sed quò magis me delectabant, eo sanè avidius expectabam, quò tandem præclarum istum cursum, quem tanto apparatu instituisti, dirigeres: quem tibi portum proponeres. In qua expectatione statim se mihi in conspectum obtulit philosophiæ portus, quò te velis remisque properare, atque illic paulò pòst alumnum tuum relinquere videbam. Præclarus ille quidem, et omnibus aliis portus præferendus, si antiquis illis *Aristotelis* et *Platonis* temporibus, vel etiam si recentioribus *M. T.* *Ciceronis*,

Ciceronis, hic curſus abs te inſtitutus fuiſſet, aut ſi ij gubernatores adoleſcenti tuo contigiſſent: nec enim illi profectò alium elegiſſent, nec facile tum alius tutior vel commodior reperiri potuit. Sed cùm his felicibus temporibus curſum inſtitueris tuum, quibus ut multi terrarum novi tractus inſulæque et portus antiquitati incogniti, inventi ſunt, pluribus eorum qui antiquitus celebres erant, vel mari obrutis, vel vetuſtate conſumptis: ſic etiam animorum portus multo tutior et tranquillior, Deo ipſo, et eodem Dei filio duce et inventore nobis apertus ſit, quem antiqui ignorabant. Cumque *Sadoletus* ipſe, qui in hoc curſu gubernatoris locum obtinet, etſi appulſus quidem ad antiquorum portum, tamen prætervectus ſit, nec diutius ibi commoratus, quàm ut neceſſaria ſibi inde ſumeret ad reliquum curſum perficiendum, in hunc tandem, qui à Dei filio monſtratus ſit ſe receperit, ubi nunc ſumma cum animi tranquillitate et ſecuritate vivit: quid eſt cur non *Paulus* tuus merito tecum conqueratur, ſi in alieno et infido jam portu eum relinquas, cùm te ipſum in optimo et tutiſſimo collocaris? Ego certè illius verbis tecum expoſtulare non dubitabo, ſi juvenem omnibus vel naturæ dotibus vel doctrinæ præſidiis tua opera inſtructiſſimum, et plane talem qualem tu parentum votis expetendum proponis, fluctuantem jam in philoſophiæ portu reliqueris: quæ ne portus quidem jam nomine digna ſit: ſed ut de Tenedo dixit Poëta,

Nunc tantùm ſinus, et ſtatio malefida carinis.

Atqui non nobis tantus iſte in eo educando apparatus, nec præclara iſta tua inſtitutio, talem nobis promiſit qui præcepta tandem vivendi à philoſophis peteret, aut qui animi ſecuritatis cauſa in illorum portum confugere neceſſe haberet: ſed

ſed qui vel principibus ipſis philoſophorum, ſi jam reviviſcerent, novum et præſtantius vivendi genus oſtenderet, quo illi nunquam aſpirare potuerunt: ſapientiam autem et animi tranquillitatem longè aliam et aliunde quam à philoſophiæ præceptis petendam, tanto præſtantiorem et diuturniorem ea quam philoſophia promitteret, quantò humanis præſtabiliora divina ſunt.

QUARE age, mi *Sadolete*, noli promiſſo tuo, in tali juvene inſtituendo ſatisfactum putare, ſi eum ad philoſophiæ limites perduxeris, aut etiam ſi philoſophiam ipſam integram tradideris. Solvas inde oportet, neque unquam defatigere, donec in ſacrum eundem portum, in quo tu ipſe ſumma cum animi tranquillitate vivis, illum perduxeris. Nec enim convenit tam præſtanti educationi, et illi quem omnium opinióne, hæredem virtutis et ſapientiæ tuæ es relicturus, in alio quàm quo ipſe tabernaculum vitæ poſueris, portu conquieſcere.

HÆC ad te verboſiùs ſcripſi, vel tuo imperio obſequutus, qui me etiam de illo tuo libro, quem ſatis admirari non poteram, quid ſentirem ad te ſcribere voluiſti, vel meo in ſacras illas Muſas amori ſatisfaciens. Quas abs te illaudatas et tacitas præteriri, cùm reliquas omnes artes et diſciplinas dignis præconiis ornâris, vix æquo animo ſpectabam, vel etiam quod Langæo noſtro, cujus liberis inſtituendis iſte abs te labor præcipuè ſumptus ſit, hoc imprimis gratum fore non dubitabam, ſi quod in philoſophia et reliquis artibus facis, ut ſingularum laudes attingendo, ad earum ſtudium adoleſcentum animos erigas, idem in Theologia facere non neglexeris: in qua reliquæ omnes, ut in oceano flumina, ſe immergere ſolent, et debent. Et certè convenit, ut quæ te ipſum maximè ornat, et indies magis magiſque ornatura eſt, cum de iis diſciplinis ſermo ſit, quarum cognitio humanos animos colit et perficit: ejus laudem haud-

quaquam

quaquam ſilentio involvas: præſertim cùm ad Langæum ſcribas, quem ſcio, quoties è negotiorum fluctibus, quibus in aula verſantem jactari neceſſe eſt, emergere licet, in nullo libentius, quàm in Theologiæ portu conquieſcere. Sed tu meæ loquacitati ignoſces, qui cùm ſancte adjurare poſſim, me his quatuor annis non tantum quidem Latinè legiſſe, quantum nunc ad te ſcripſi, Theologorum libris avocatum, quos tamen in genere Latinorum ſcriptorum non pono, in hanc inſolitam Latinè ſcribendi loquacitatem erupi. Sed ut loquendi tecum, ſic etiam ſcribendi ad te, quo cum abſente quaſi loqui videor, dulcedo quædam me longius ultra epiſtolæ fines provexit. Cui tu pro tua humanitate ignoſcas oportet.

NUNC ad tua mandata venio. In quo eo brevior ero, quo pauciora mihi ſcribenda reliquerunt eorum literæ, ad quos mihi mandata et literas dediſti: quas jam ſpero ad tuas reſcriptas te habere. Omnes enim receperunt, poſt paucos dies quibus id commodè facere poſſent, ſe tuæ voluntati eſſe ſatisfacturos. *Bembi* verò literas cum his ad te mitto: quem cùm *Venetiis* ſalutarem, eique tuas literas unà cum libro darem, quantopere delectaretur de te, et de tuis ſtudiis audire, pro veſtra conjunctiſſima neceſſitudine, facilius eſt tibi exiſtimare, quam mihi ſcribere. *Veronenſi* verò Pontifici, quem *Veronæ* ſalutavi, etiam tuas literas tradidi: qui me unum diem apud ſe detinuit, cùm nullus penè nobis ſermo eſſet, niſi de te, et de ſtudiis tuis: cùm ſæpe ſe valde dolere oſtenderet, ſuaviſſima conſuetudine tua propter locorum intervallum, quo disjuncti eſtis, ſe privari. *Lazarum* tuum Patavii offendi, cui etiam tuas literas tradidi, cùm ad me ſalutatum humaniſſimè veniſſet. Omnes verò tibi de iſta animi tranquillitate et otio gratulantur: ex quibus tam præclaros

 fœtus

fœtus oriri, et prodire in utilitatem publicam vident. Quæ ut tibi perpetua ſint optant. Egoque imprimis, qui non minus præclaros ſciam te jam parturire, quàm ſunt hi qui jam ſunt in lucem editi, hoc idem optare non deſinam, partumque fœliciſſimum precari. Vale.

Venetiis, IIII Calend. *Novembr*. M. D. XXXII.

IT *has been objected to the Effigy of* Cardinal Pole, *which is prefixed to the first Volume of this Work, and represents him as advanced in years, that it is attributed to Raphael, who died in the year* 1520, *when the* Cardinal *was only in the twentieth year of his age. But the Objectors did not reflect, that besides* Raphael *of* Urbino, *who died in the year they mention, there were several other great Masters of that name. To go no further than* Raphael del Colle Borghese, *who flourished chiefly whilst* Cardinal Pole *was in Italy, and the prime of whose life coincides with the decline of the* Cardinal'*s: He was one of the most celebrated Artists under* Guilio Romano, *the favourite Disciple of* Raphael *of* Urbino *and so esteemed by his Master, that he made him one of his Heirs, on condition he would finish the Pieces he left imperfect:* Guilio *died in* 1546, *and those who have seen the paintings of the Hall of* Constantine *and other public places in* Rome, *and in the stately Palace of Mantua, may remember the Works of Master and Scholar. They may, likewise, recollect the likeness of the Effigy in question to the Bust and Pictures of the* Cardinal, *which are still preserved in the Papal and other Collections. It has, also, a great resemblance to the Print prefixed to the first Part of* Quirini'*s collection of his Letters: and to come to proofs nearer home, to that in* Burnet'*s* Hist. Ref. *engraved by* White; *that in* Larrey'*s* Hist. d' Ang. *by* P. à Gunst, *which, though small, is executed with great elegance: and, lastly, to a very large and beautiful Print in the collection of* Andrew Stone, *Esq; which represents the* Cardinal *in a sitting posture, and bears the name of* Raphael.

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Richard Pates . 80 –
Thomas Goldwell, 99 . 109
Commendon . 110